THE BACON-SHAKESPEARE ANATOMY

W. S. MELSOME, M.A., M.D.

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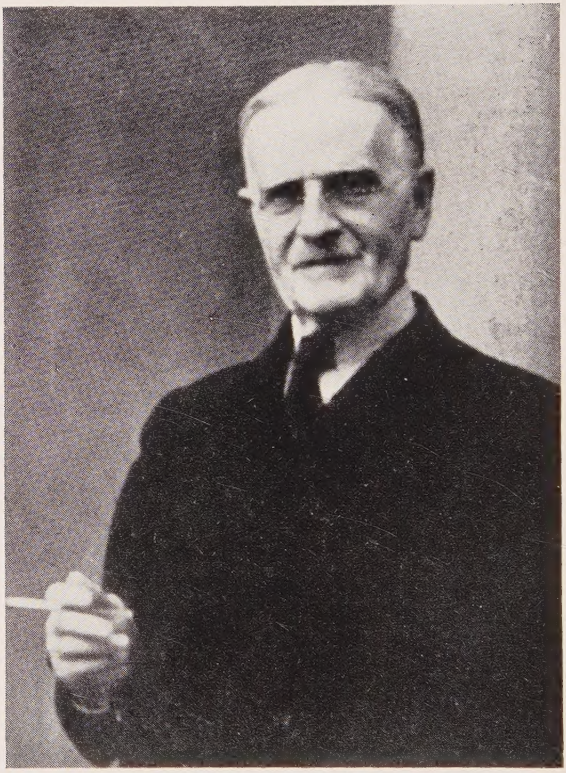


WILLIAM STANLEY MELSOME, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S., ETC.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT

On the cover of the Northumberland Manuscript (so-called because it was discovered during the demolition of Northumberland House, Strand, in 1867), will be noticed the titles of four orations written by Bacon about 1591, and intended for a Masque. They are :

The Praise of the worthiest Vertue.
The Praise of the worthiest Affection.
The Praise of the worthiest Power.
The Praise of the worthiest Person.

The choice fell upon Fortitude, Love, Knowledge and, of course, Queen Elizabeth.

The speeches are included in the manuscript, and they contain innumerable phrases, ideas and opinions which are echoed in the Shakespeare Plays and Poems, Bacon's Essays, Advancement of Learning, &c. The handwriting is that of one of the " good pens " employed in Bacon's scriptorium. It bears a resemblance with that of Thomas Kyd—the dramatist and scrivener.

On the specimen page, now reproduced, the reader will, for instance observe :

" The *vertues* which by a steepe and cragged way conduct us to a plaine, and are hard taske-masters at first."

It was Ophelia who protested to Laertes against being shown

" The steep and thorny way to Heaven "
(*Hamlet*, 1–3)

which was the difficult path of strict *virtue*.

Note also, " I will teach lovers to love that have all this while loved by rote. I will give them the Alphabet of Love. I will teach them how it is spelled."

The combination of *love*, *rote* and *spell* could not have occurred to two authors at approximately the same time, and the only reasonable inference is that the same man wrote :

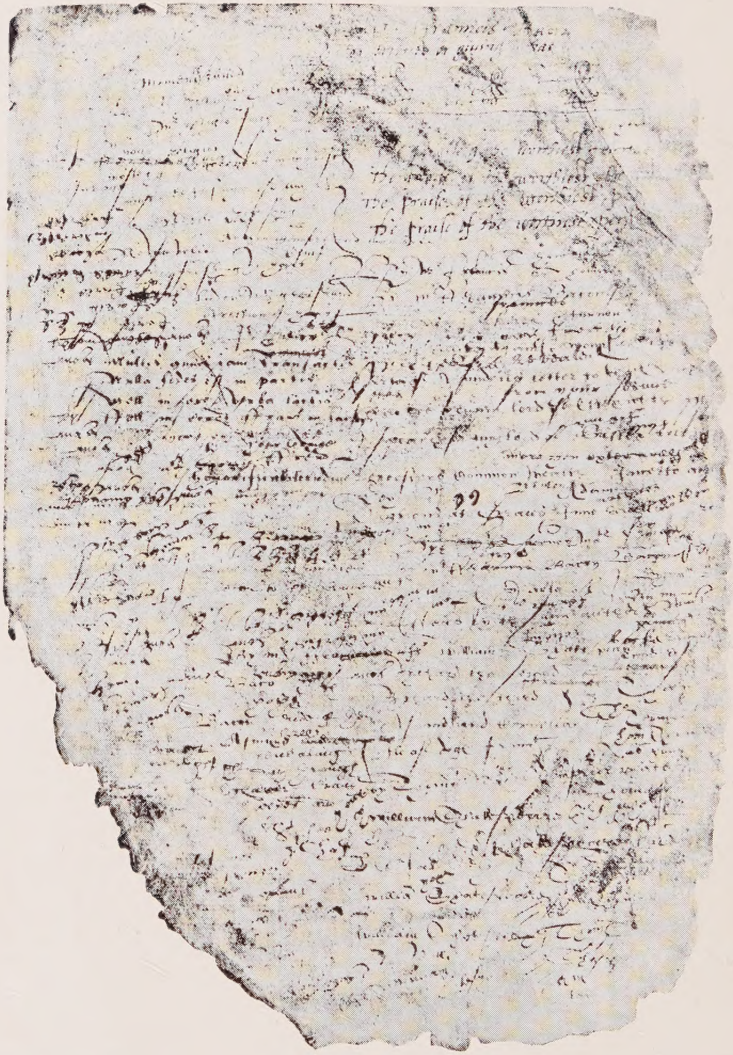
" Thy love did read by rote, and could not spell."
(*Romeo and Juliet*, ii, 3).

On the next folio Bacon writes of " Such extravagant and strange spirits." We are at once reminded of

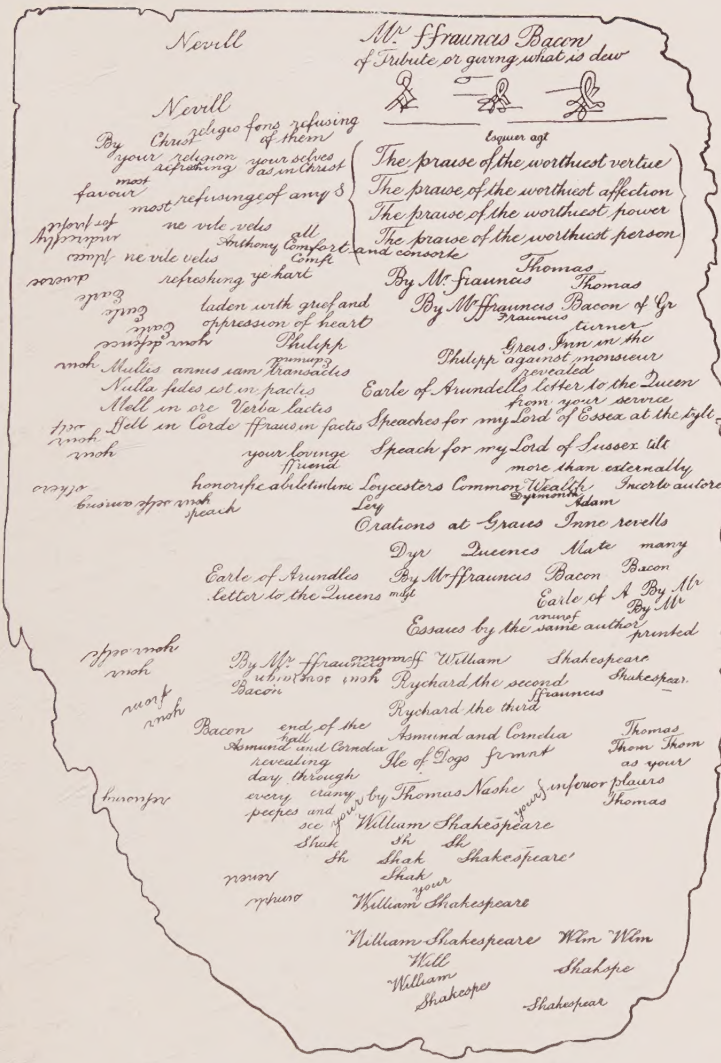
" The extravagant and erring spirit "
(*Hamlet*, i, 1).

" A foolish extravagant spirit "
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, iv, 2).

The Northumberland Manuscript provides a fascinating field of research for the germs of many Shakespearean ideas and expressions. Our learned commentators appear to have no knowledge of it.



THE OUTER LEAF OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT



MODERN SCRIPT RENDERING OF OUTER LEAF
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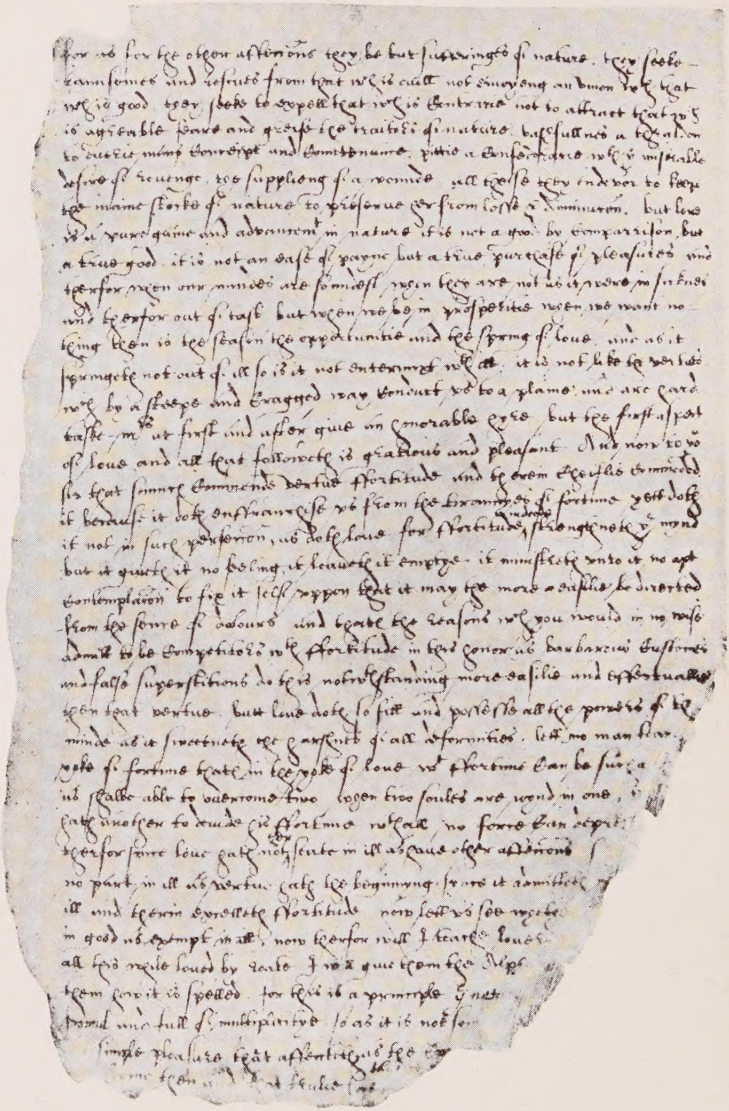

A PAGE FROM THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT

for as for the other affeccons they be but sufferinge of nature: they seeke rannsomes and rescues from that w^ch is evill, not enioyeng an union w^th that w^ch is good: they seeke to expell that w^ch is contrarie, not to attract that w^ch is agreeable. Feare and greife, the traitors of nature; bashfullnes, a thraldom to euerie man's conceipt and countenance; pittie, a confederacie w^th y^e miserable; desire of a reuenge, the supplieng of a wounde; all theise they endevor to keepe the maine stocke of nature, to preserue her from losse & diminucon. But loue is a pure gaine and advancem^t in nature; it is not a good by comparrison, but a true good; it is not an ease of payne, but a true purchase of pleasures; and therfor when our mindes are soundest, when they are not as it were in sicknes and therfor out of tast, but when we be in prosperitie, when we want no thing, then is the season the opportunitie and the spring of loue. And as it springeth not out of ill, so is it not entermixt w^th ill: it is not like the vertues w^ch by a steepe and cragged way conduct us to a plaine, and are hard taske-m^rs at first, and after giue an honorable hyre; but the first aspect of loue and all that followeth is gracious and pleasant. And now to you sir that somuch commende vertue ffortitude, and therein cheiflie commended it because it doth enffranchise us from the tirannyes of fortune, yett doth it not in such perfeccon as doth loue. For ffortitude (indeede) strengtheneth y^e mynd, but it giueth it no feeling, it leaueth it emptye, it ministreth unto it no apt contemplacon to fix it self uppon that it may the more easilie be directed from the sence of dolours, and thats the reasons w^ch you would in no wise admitt to be competitors w^th ffortitude in this honor (as barbarous customes and false superstitions do this notw^thstanding more easilie and effectuallie then that vertue. Butt loue doth so fill and possesse all the powers of the minde as it sweetneth the harshnes of all deformities. Lett no man feare y^e yoke of fortune that's in the yoke of loue. W^t fortune can be such a He[rcules as shalbe able to ouercome two? When two soules are ioynd in one, wh[en one hath another to devide his ffortune w^thall, no force can depress[e him. Therfor since loue hath not (ber) seate in ill as haue other affeccons; since [it hath no part in ill as vertue hath the beginnyng; synce it admitteth n[o sense of ill and therin excelleth ffortitude; now lett us see whether it [be not as rych in good as exempt in ill? Now therfor will I teache louers to [loue, y^t haue all this while loued by roate. I will giue them the Alphabet [of loue. I will shew them how it is spelled. For this is a principle, y^e nature [of man is compound and full of multiplicitye, so as it is not somuch
any simple pleasure that affecteth as the co
ffirme then and that trulie (that it

TRANSLATION OF OPPOSITE PAGE

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed)

THE BACON—SHAKESPEARE ANATOMY

BACON SOCIETY, Inc.

The objects of the Society are expressed in the Memorandum of Association to be:

1. To encourage study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, lawyer, statesman, and poet; his character, genius and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times and the tendencies and results of of his work.

2. To encourage study of the evidence in favour of his authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakspere, and to investigate his connection with other works of the period.

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THE BACON—SHAKESPEARE ANATOMY

By

W. S. MELSOME, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S., &c.
(sometime Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge)

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DR. WILLIAM STANLEY MELSOME

"Praising what is Lost, Makes the Remembrance Dear."

Dr. Melsome died at Bath on 11th September, 1944—a few days after the manuscript of this book had been handed to the printers. He was born at Stockton, Wiltshire, on November 19th, 1865, and was one of a large family. Educated at Lancing College, he proceeded to Queens' College, Cambridge, as a foundation scholar. He took his B.A. in 1886 (1st Class Natural Science Tripos, parts 1 and 2). In 1888, he was elected Fellow of his College. He took the degrees M.B. and B.Ch. in 1893; M.A., 1894, and F.R.C.S. in 1896, becoming Director of Medical Studies and Natural Science at his College.

He was the author of numerous medical works, particularly on Anatomy, and translated several of Continental authorities. In his time he was a fine cricketer, being invited by J. E. K. Studd (Sir Kynaston Studd) in 1884 to play for the University. He declined because, as he said, he had come to Cambridge to work.

Dr. Melsome joined the staff of St. Thomas' Hospital. Other hospitals where he practised were Brompton Chest Hospital, and Queen's Hospital for Nervous Diseases. He was Gynæcologist at London Hospital, and after a period as House Surgeon at the Royal United Hospital, Bath, took up private practice in that City. This became very extensive, and included patients whose names are "familiar as household words."

He was no less active and accomplished as a Baconian scholar. His prodigious memory made him independent of references to a Shakespeare concordance, and he was equally familiar with the writings of Francis Bacon. This enabled him to recognize the complete harmony of

mind existing between the philosophical poet and the poetical philosopher.

In April, 1939, he began to contribute the series of articles to *Baconiana*, which, with slight revisions and some additions, are published in the present volume.

He became Editor of *Baconiana* in 1940, and President of The Bacon Society, in 1942, both of which offices he was holding at the time of his death.

During his last illness, Dr. Melsome entrusted me with the editing and preparation of his book for publication. I had hoped that he would have lived to see the finished work, but it was not to be. I feel convinced, however, that his name will live " so long as men can breathe, or eyes can see."

His book will be indispensable to future Shakespearean commentary, but it is doubtful whether present-day professors will give the credit that is due to its author. It will cause their doctrines and text-books to be erroneous and out-of-date. What is new, and what is true, is not usually popular until time has mellowed it. The time will come when Dr. Melsome's book will be recognised as the greatest contribution ever made towards the understanding of the works of " Shakespeare."

RODERICK L. EAGLE.

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THE extracts from Bacon's writings are from the monumental edition made by Spedding, Ellis and Heath comprising the Works (seven volumes, 1857–1859), and the Life and Letters (seven volumes, 1861–1874).

The references to the writings published under the name of Nashe are extracted from the Edition compiled by Alexander Grosart (1883–5), as follows:

Vol. I. *The Anatomy of Absurdity.* 1589
Martin Months Mind. 1590.

Vol. II. *Pierce Penilesse.* 1592.

Vol. III. *Have with you to Safron Walden.* 1596.
Terrors of the Night. 1594.

Vol. IV. *Christ's Tears.* 1593–4.

Vol. V. *The Unfortunate Traveller.* 1594.
Lenten Stuff. 1599.

Vol. VI. *Dido.* 1594.
Summer's Last Will. 1600.

INTRODUCTION

My object in writing the following pages is to demonstrate that the minds of Bacon and of Shakespeare are not two minds but one.

That great student of the mind of Man, Francis Bacon, wrote *Mente Videbor*—I shall be discovered by my mind, and indeed so may all men be discovered; "The books" of those who write "preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living entity that bred them."

How shall we discover the mind of Bacon and show that it is also the Shakespeare mind?

Bacon recommended that "men's labour should be turned to the investigation and observation of the resemblances and *analogies* of things as well in wholes as in parts. For these it is that detect the Unity of Nature." (*Nov. Org.* Bk. II XXVII).

It is precisely to this investigation and observation of the resemblances and analogies between the work of Bacon and of Shakespeare that I have turned my labour. My method is Baconian. I shall by "diligent dissection and anatomy" detect the unity of the Bacon-Shakespeare mind. It is a new method as applied to the Bacon-Shakespeare Problem, as it is called. Many hundreds of ideas, opinions and expressions have indeed been collected in the past and shown to be common to both Bacon and Shakespeare. They lie as bricks awaiting the bricklayer. I shall to a great extent enter into the labours of these collectors, but I wish to combine these scattered identities, parallelisms and reminders; and, with many more which I have discovered erect an edifice—the single structure of the Bacon-Shakespeare mind.

The similarity between the work of Bacon and Shakespeare, if for a moment we assume (as did undoubtedly the authorities I shall quote) that two different writers

were responsible for it, has impressed many critics and commentators.

Carlyle wrote, "There is an understanding manifested in the construction of Shakespeare's Plays equal to that in Bacon's *Novum Organum.*" Hazlitt made the same pregnant comparison; Professor David Masson wrote, "Shakespeare is as astonishing for the exuberance of his genius in abstract notions and for the depth of his analytic and philosophic insight, as for the scope and minuteness of his poetic imagination. It is as if into a mind poetical in form there had been poured all the matter that existed in the mind of his contemporary, Bacon. In Shakespeare's Plays we have thought, history, exposition, philosophy all within the round of the poet. The only difference between him and Bacon sometimes is that Bacon writes an essay and calls it his own, while Shakespeare writes a similar essay and puts it into the mouth of a 'Ulysses' or 'Polonius'."

Gerald Massey realised that "the philosophical writings of Bacon are suffused and saturated with Shakespeare's thought" (Massey thought that Bacon borrowed from Shakespeare). He proceeds: "These likenesses in thought and expression are mainly limited to those two contemporaries." The late Morton Luce in his *Handbook to Shakespeare's Works* (p. 289) says that appreciation of the plays is impossible without familiarity with the writings of Bacon.

Finally, George Moore detected more than the similarity —he divined the unity of Bacon-Shakespeare which I hope to demonstrate. "The first time", wrote this great master of English, "I heard Bacon mentioned as the possible author of the Plays and Poems, the idea lit up in my brain and I felt certain that it could not have been the Mummer. . . . The moment it was suggested that Bacon had written them, I felt as many must have felt when they heard for the first time that the earth goes round the sun. Things began to get concentric again: hitherto they had all been eccentric."

It has been shown that (again supposing Bacon and Shakespeare the real Poet and Dramatist to be two different men) their work reveals them both as aristocrats, devoted

to aristocratic tradition: both statesmen, and members of the same political faction; both lawyers; both poets; both dramatists and lovers of the play and the players' art; both holding the same religious and philosophical convictions (or sharing the lack of them): both travellers to the same places; both reading the same books; both enjoying the same sports, thinking and feeling alike, using the same expressions, employing the same curious vocabulary, citing the same quotations and making the same mistakes.

Yet Bacon and Shakespeare might be two men and not one: men who nevertheless, as far as we know, never met each other, never referred to each other's work, or indeed mentioned each other's existence. Bacon and Shakespeare must indeed have been a strangely contrasted pair. They stood at opposite ends of the social scale and as dissimilar in hereditary influences and environment as it is possible for two men to be. The one a son of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the other a rustic; the one, a man of the best education and highest culture; the other apparently uneducated; the one born in a family of statesmen and scholars; the other of illiterate people incapable of writing their own names. The one, the profoundest thinker of his age; the other a tradesman's apprentice, turned player ("a base and common fellow" in those times) to others of his day and generation, of which we have any record, unknown. Yet from the minds of these two men (according to orthodox opinion) proceeded works the similarities between which are so evident as to be apparent to the authorities I have quoted; all of whom, except George Moore, were of strictly orthodox opinion as to the Stratford Shakespeare authorship.

Writing of the many identities of thought and diction between the Shakespeare Plays and Poems and Bacon's acknowledged works, Edwin Reed declared "the argument from parallelisms in general may be stated thus: one parallelism has no significance; five parallelisms attract attention; ten suggest inquiry; twenty raise a presumption; fifty establish a probability; one hundred dissolve every doubt" but it must always be remembered that the assumption that a number of slight probabilities

may constitute a virtual certainty is not true unless the probabilities tend in the same direction and support one another.

Before I proceed to anatomize (which means to dissect and analyse) the mind revealed in the Bacon-Shakespeare works, there are certain principles which guide me and must guide those who wish to follow me.

The first principle—it should be unnecessary to enunciate it—is that ALL the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare should be read with attention, and so should ALL the acknowledged works, speeches and letters of Francis Bacon, and more especially those works of his that were first published between 1622 and 1626, which contain so much new material. To read the whole of Shakespeare's work and to omit any of these later works of Bacon is to make a total dissection of Shakespeare's brain, and but a partial dissection of Bacon's, from which we might conclude that there is much philosophy in Bacon which is not to be found in Shakespeare, and much in Shakespeare which is not to be found in Bacon.

The second principle is that described by Archbishop Tenison writing in 1679: "those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord Verulam like great Masters in Painting can tell by the Design, the Strength, the Way of Colouring whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his name be not to it."

The words "Design" "Strength" and "the Way of Colouring" are printed with initial capitals and in italic type.

How does an expert decide whether two works of art are by the same master?

According to Max J. Friedlander, sometime Curator of the State Galleries, Berlin, "we compare him to a tree, none of whose leaves are identical while all of them have a shape which allows them to be recognised as belonging to one kind of tree; but even this comparison does not do justice to the capacity for change in a man of intellectual activity and to the complexity of his mental processes. Personality lives and changes and its disposition is such that, while it is free to pursue one path, it can follow another in different circumstances. When the art expert

is asked which of two works is by the same Master we find that he does not point to any profound qualities, but to apparently external characteristics, to flourishes, brush marks and habits which form so many secret and unintentional signatures. Though the expert may sense the working of Personality, he turns toward the surface as soon as he wants to demonstrate."

We shall look then for the Design, Strength and Way of Colouring of the Bacon-Shakespeare Mind in its external characteristics, its flourishes and habits, and we shall indeed discover that these form so many secret and unintentional signatures.

The third principle is always to bear in mind that Bacon and Shakespeare were equally fond of analogies and antitheses, and as "antitheta are theses argued *pro et contra*" (Bacon) we must be careful not to compare the the one, while arguing *pro*, with the other while arguing *contra*. If we follow this rule we shall find that they never differ in opinion upon any subject about which they both write *at the same period*, but only in the way they express themselves; but are not the two sides of a simple quadratic equation expressed differently? and when they are reduced to simplicity do they not amount to the same thing? What difference is there between Bacon's "It is impossible to love and be wise" and Shakespeare's "To love and be wise exceeds man's might"?

Bacon's *Exempla Antithetorum* must never be forgotten when comparing his mind with that of Shakespeare. "Analogy and antithesis, antithesis and analogy, these are the secrets of the Baconian force" (E. A. Abbott) and, I may add, of the Bacon-Shakespeare mind.

The reader of these pages is advised not to content himself with the opinions of others regarding the Bacon-Shakespeare Mind. If he does he will quickly discover that the words of one writer cancel those of another. Shelley writes "Bacon was a poet." Many others flatly contradict him. One who contents himself with the opinions of others becomes, too often, a slave to authority. If you meet such a slave and try to show him Bacon-Shakespeare in *Henry VIII*, he will probably tell you that this play was not Shakespeare's but Fletcher's, or

another's as Professor Blank has shown. Yet if there is one play in which, if he will only look for himself, he can trace Bacon-Shakespeare it is that same *Henry VIII.*

Another principle is that we follow the same rules in comparing the anatomy of minds as we do in comparing the anatomy of bodies. We make a careful and minute dissection of each, and not a careful dissection of one and a careless and slipshod dissection of the other; and until we have thus carefully dissected the minds of Bacon and Shakespeare we are not fit to compare them. When we are fit to do so we realise what a help Bacon is to the understanding of Shakespeare, but that Shakespeare is no great help to the understanding of Bacon.

A good surgeon knows, or should know, every cubic centimetre of the human body, and this knowledge must be obtained by careful dissections which give him information at first hand. He must see with his own eyes every detail; make notes and drawings to commit everything to his memory.

First-hand knowledge of this kind can never be shaken by second-hand information derived from reading books; and no man would care to submit to the knife of a surgeon whose knowledge and experience were gained in any other way. If we then follow the surgeon's example in dealing with the minds of Bacon and Shakespeare, we shall need no second-hand information; we shall need no other man's opinion.

It is well to remember that, even in the lifetime of Shakespeare of Stratford, plays and poems were actually published as having been written "by William Shakespeare," but which "Shakespeare" (whoever he may have been) certainly did not write. Is it not significant that the poet, whose name was being put by unscrupulous publishers to inferior works, should have taken no steps to protect himself? He could not have done so without revealing himself, and had no alternative but to suffer in silence. The publishers were obviously aware of this.

Commentators are generally of the opinion that there are other hands than that of "Shakespeare" in the plays published in the First Folio. But, whether this be so or not, nobody will deny that there was one Master-Mind,

whence flowed the immortal lines which have raised Shakespeare not only above contemporary poets and dramatists, but those before and after him. It is a highly significant fact that "Shakespeare" borrowed extensively from Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum* which was not published before October 1623, when the Stratford player had been dead more than seven years. At the date when this work of Francis Bacon was published, the manuscripts contained in the First Folio of the plays were still in the hands of the printers. It follows, therefore, that "Shakespeare" could not have borrowed from a printed copy of the *De Augmentis*. Bacon was the only one who had no need to await the printing of his own work before making use of it, and it follows that he must have been "Shakespeare," or a chief collaborator with any others who may have written the works known under that name. We have considerable contemporary testimony to the fact that he wrote much that passed under the names of others. The reader will now judge whether he wrote under the name of William Shakespeare.

Whatever the judgment may be, there can be no dispute as to the fact that passage after passage in Shakespeare find their only explanations and likenesses in the works, letters, speeches, etc. of Bacon. It is to be hoped that future editors of the plays and poems will make use of the material contained in the pages which follow. Many Shakespearean lines, which have hitherto baffled the commentators, would have presented no difficulties if Bacon had been consulted.

W. S. M.

"Verbal echoes are not to be neglected, least of all when they are connected with a real image in the writer's mind."

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS in
Man's Unconquerable Mind
(Jonathan Cape, 1939).

SOME IMPORTANT DATES

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE . . 1564–1616
FRANCIS BACON . . 1561–1626

Play	*Printed*	*Plays and Poems*	*Printed*
All's Well that Ends Well	1623	Merchant of Venice	1600
Antony and Cleopatra	1623	Merry Wives of Windsor	1602
As You Like It	1623	Midsummer Night's Dream	1600
Comedy of Errors	1623	Much Ado about Nothing	1600
Coriolanus	1623	Othello	1622
Cymbeline	1623	Pericles	1609
Edward III	1596	Rape of Lucrece	1594
Hamlet	1604	Richard II	1597
1 Henry IV	1598	Richard III	1597
2 Henry IV	1600	Romeo and Juliet	1597
Henry V	1600	Sonnets	1609
1 Henry VI	1623	Taming of the Shrew	1623
2 Henry VI	1623	Tempest	1623
3 Henry VI	1623	Timon of Athens	1623
Henry VIII	1623	Titus Andronicus	1600
John	1623	Troilus and Cressida	1609
Julius Cæsar	1623	Twelfth Night	1623
Lear	1608	Two Gentlemen of Verona	1623
Love's Labour's Lost	1598	Venus and Adonis	1593
Macbeth	1623	Winter's Tale	1623

BACON'S PROSE WRITINGS QUOTED

Promus	1594–6	History of Life and Death	1623
Advancement of Learning	1605	Natural History	1622
Wisdom of the Ancients	1609	Sylva Sylvarum (1624)	1627
History of Henry VII	1621	New Altantis (1624)	1627
Novum Organum	1620	Apophthegms	1625
History of the Winds	1622	Translation of Certain Psalms	1625
De Augmentis Scientiarum	1623		

THE ESSAYS

I.—Of Truth	1625	XXXI.—Of Suspicion	1625
II.—Of Death	1612	XXXII.—Of Discourse	1597
III.—Of Unity in Religion	1612	XXXIII.—Of Plantations	1625
IV.—Of Revenge	1625	XXXIV.—Of Riches	1612
V.—Of Adversity	1625	XXXV.—Of Prophecies	1625
VI.—Of Simulation and Dissimulation	1625	XXXVI.—Of Ambition	1612
VII.—Of Parents and Children	1625	XXXVII.—Of Masques	1625
VIII.—Of Marriage and Single Life	1612	XXXVIII.—Of Nature in Men	1612
IX.—Of Envy	1625	XXXIX.—Of Custom and Education	1612
X.—Of Love	1612	XL.—Of Fortune	1612
XI.—Of Great Place	1612	XLI.—Of Usury	1625
XII.—Of Boldness	1625	XLII.—Of Youth and Age	1612
XIII.—Of Goodness	1612	XLIII.—Of Beauty	1612
XIV.—Of Nobility	1612	XLIV.—Of Deformity	1612
XV.—Of Seditions and Troubles	1625	XLV.—Of Building	1625
XVI.—Of Atheism	1612	XLVI.—Of Gardens	1625
XVII.—Of Superstition	1612	XLVII.—Of Negotiating	1597
XVIII.—Of Travel	1625	XLVIII.—Of Followers and Friends	1597
XIX.—Of Empire	1612	XLIX.—Of Suitors	1597
XX.—Of Counsel	1612	L.—Of Studies	1597
XXI.—Of Delays	1625	LI.—Of Faction	1597
XXII.—Of Cunning	1612	LII.—Of Ceremonies	1597
XXIII.—Of Wisdom for a Man's Self	1612	LIII.—Of Praise	1612
XXIV.—Of Innovations	1625	LIV.—Of Vain Glory	1612
XXV.—Of Dispatch	1612	LV.—Of Honour and Reputation	1597
XXVI.—Of Seeming Wise	1612	LVI.—Of Judicature	1612
XXVII.—Of Friendship	1612	LVII.—Of Anger	1625
XXVIII.—Of Expense	1597	LVIII.—Of Vicissitude of Things	1625
XXIX.—Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms	1612	Fragment of an Essay of Fame	1657
XXX.—Of Regimen of Health	1612	Essay of a King	1648

Footnote:
Measure For Measure . . . 1623 should follow "Macbeth," 1623.

Chapter I, Part I

BACON, SHAKESPEARE AND ECCLESIASTES X, 1

In the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (viii, 11) Bacon gives his explanation of thirty-four parables taken from Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The eleventh is from Ecclesiastes x, 1 which in the Geneva Bible of 1585 runs thus :—

"Dead flies cause to stinke and putrefie the ointment of the apoticarie ; so doeth a little folie him that is in estimation for wisdom and for glorie."

Bacon and Shakespeare took a very great interest in this parable. They return to it again and again and draw analogy after analogy from it, and the following is Bacon's version of it :—

"*Sicut muscae mortuæ foetere faciunt unguentum optimum, sic hominem pretiosum sapientia et gloria, parva stultitia.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *para.*, xi.) (As dead flies cause the best ointment to stink so does a little folly to a man that is in reputation for wisdom and honour.)

The exact equivalent of *unguentum optimum* is not to be found in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin or any English version of this text, but certain it is that Bacon regarded it as a simple analogy between the corruption of the best ointment by putrid flies and the corruption of the best men by vice.

We shall see that from this parable Bacon drew the following deductions (1) That "*honours make both virtue and vice conspicuous*" : (2) That the corruption of a man reputed for wisdom and honour is worse than the corruption of an ordinary man ; (3) That the corruption of a good government is worse than that of a bad ; (4) That the corruption of a brilliant precious stone is worse than that of a duller stone ; and so on, until he arrived at the following general conclusion :—

"*Ye know the principle of philosophy to be that the*

corruption or degeneration of the best things is the worst." (*Life*, vii. p. 171.)

Sometimes Bacon substitutes for flies in the ointment (1) Little grains or little clouds in the fairest crystal; (2) Little icicles or grains in the fairest crystals; (3) Flaws, icicles or grains in the best precious stones. The following quotations from his works and speeches will illustrate my meaning.

In his explanation of Ecclesiastes x, 1, he writes:

"*Verum, quemadmodum in gemma valde nitida minimum quodque granulum aut nebecula oculos ferit et molestia quadam afficit, quod tamen si in gemma vitiosiore repertum foret, vix notam subiret.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola*, xi. 1623.) (But as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed.)

Six years earlier, addressing judges in the Star Chamber, he says:

"*Though the best governments be always like the fairest crystals wherein every little icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 213, 1617.)

Again, addressing members of the House of Commons:

"*It is certain that the best governments, yea and the best men, are like the best precious stones, wherein every flaw or icicle or grain is seen and noted more than in those that are generally foul and corrupted.*" (*Life*, vii. p. 178, 1620.)

It is clear from the dates given that none of the judges or members of the House could have guessed what verse in the Bible Bacon had in mind while addressing them. This habit of making use of the Bible without allowing us to know what verse he has in mind is common to Shakespeare. There are scores of passages in the plays which have their origin in some verse in the Bible but which nobody has discovered nor ever will discover without first reading Bacon's works.

As Bacon preferred to compare the best men with flaws in their characters to the best precious stones, or the fairest crystals, with flaws, icicles or grains in them, rather than to the best ointment; so Shakespeare preferred

to liken an eminent man with flaws in his character to a fair and crystal sky with ugly clouds in it :

" Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee . . .
. . . Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,
Too good to be so and too bad to live
Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly."
(*R2.* i. 1. 35)

It is certainly true that a little grain or a little cloud in the fairest crystal strikes and offends the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed ; and is it not equally true to say : " As in a fair and crystal sky every ugly little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller sky would scarcely be noticed " ? Clearly the Duke of Norfolk is the fair and crystal sky, and the ugly clouds are the flaws in his character ; and because he is an eminent man he is the more " severely censured " by Bolingbroke ; for the more eminent the man the uglier seem his " *faults or defects,*" " *which in an ordinary man would either be entirely unnoticed or readily excused,*" because

" Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
As foolery in the wise." (*L.L.L.*, v. ii. 75.)

But Shakespeare also likens the best men and women to the best precious stones :

" Good name in man or woman, good my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls."
(*Oth.*, iii. i. 156.)

" Immediate " means unbroken, entire, and therefore perfect ; like the " entire and perfect chrysolite " (*Oth.*, v, ii. 145) ; so that " the immediate jewel " is the equivalent of Bacon's " *gemma valde nitida* " without any of those " *flaws, icicles or grains* " which are so displeasing to the eye. Shakespeare does not use the word ointment, yet it is beyond question that the parable of the ointment was often in his mind ; but, like Bacon, he preferred to liken the best men and the best women to the best precious stones.

As to the best women :—

" My chastity's the jewel (*gemma*) of our house
Bequeathed down." (*All's Well*, iv. ii. 45.)

What attracted Diana was the "*gemma valde nitida*" on Bertram's ring finger, and when she says :

" Mine honour's such a ring " (*Ib.*, iv. ii. 44), she is likening her honour, reputation and good name, not to the ring, but to the precious stone which the ring contained.

The following is a translation of Bacon's explanation of Ecclesiastes x. 1, which shows how he brings in the ordinary man which the parable does not ; and why, therefore, in comparing him with the eminent man he was forced to change his analogy and substitute for dead flies in the ointment, little grains or little clouds in the fairest crystal, because he realised that dead flies would be just as conspicuous in an inferior ointment as in the best ; whereas little grains, icicles or clouds in the fairest crystal would strike and offend the eye more than they would in duller stones ; so, too, the faults or defects in eminent men would strike and offend the sense more than they would in ordinary men :—

" *The condition of men eminent for virtue is, as this parable well observes, exceeding hard and miserable ; because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked. But as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed ; so in men of eminent virtue, their smallest faults (or defects) are readily seen, talked of and severely censured ; which in ordinary men would either be entirely unnoticed or readily excused. Whence a little folly in a very wise man, a small slip in a very good man, or a little indecency in a polite and elegant man, greatly diminishes their characters and reputations.*

" *It might therefore be no bad policy for eminent men to intermingle with their actions a few absurdities, which may be discreetly committed, to retain some liberty for themselves and to confound the observation of little defects.*"

Keeping in mind Bacon's analogies, and his distinction between eminent and ordinary men, we will now compare him with what Shakespeare writes when dealing with Ecclesiastes, x. 1. First, taking the parable itself, and then

each of Bacon's sentences in his explanation of it, in the order in which he sets them down :—

"*As dead flies cause the best ointment to stink*' by tainting it ; so,

"Wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit" (or wisdom cause their names to stink.) (*T.N.*, iii. 1. 75.)

Whenever we come upon the tainting or corrupting of wisdom or honour in the writings of Bacon and Shakespeare, we may almost certainly conclude that they have their origin in Ecclesiastes x. 1.

Examples :—

"*Leaveth that taint upon honour.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 178.)
"To taint that honour." (*H8*, iii. i. 55.)
"Your honour untainted." (*Meas.*, iii. i. 264.)
"A man sorely tainted." (*H8*, iv. 2. 14.)
"To keep mine honour from corruption." (*Ib.*, iv. 2. 71.)
"*Corrupt or tainted wisdom.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. 2.)
"Pray heaven his wisdom be not tainted."
(*Meas.*, iv. 4. 5.)
"Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices."
(1*H6*, v. 4. 45.)
"Or any taint of vice whose strong corruption inhabits our frail blood." (*T.N.*, iii. 4. 390.)
"Wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit."
(*Ib.*, iii. i. 75.)

This last is one of the direct references to Ecclesiastes x. 1, in the plays. The others are :

"Folly, in wisdom hatch'd." (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 70.)
"Turn then my freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril." (*W.T.*, i. 2. 420.)

This should be compared with the "reputation" and "stinking savour" of the 1611 Bible. (*The Winter's Tale* was not printed before November, 1623.)

"They would but stink and putrefy the air."
(1*H6*, iv. 7. 90.)

This may be compared with the Geneva Bible :

"Dead flies cause to stink and putrefy the ointment."

The stink coming before the putrefaction is unusual, and contrary to nature.

The first sentence of Bacon's explanation is:—

"*The condition of men eminent for virtue, as this parable well observes, exceeding hard and miserable; because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked.*"

According to Shakespeare the reason is, because

"The little foolery that wise men have makes a great show." (*As You Like It.* i. ii. 96.)

And this is also the reason why

"Honours make both virtue and vice conspicuous."
(*De Aug.*, vi. iii. *Antitheta.*)

for the more eminent the man the uglier seem the clouds or flaws in his character; and that is why

"The mightier man, the mightier is the thing
That makes him honour'd or begets him hate"

and why "greatest scandal waits on greatest state." (*Lucrece*, 1004.) The second sentence:—

"*But as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed;*" so

"The more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly." (*R2.* i. 1. 41)

which in a duller sky would scarcely be noticed.

The next sentence:—

"*So, in men of eminent virtue, their smallest faults (or defects) are readily seen, talked of, and severely censured.*"

"These men
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect . . .
. . . Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault." (*Ham.*, i. 4. 30.)

even as the sweet-smelling ointment takes corruption from putrid flies.

"And some condemned for a fault alone."
(*Meas.*, ii. 1. 40.)

The next sentence:—

Whereas "*In ordinary men they* (these faults or defects)

would either be entirely unnoticed or readily excused:"

because

" Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
As foolery in the wise." (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 75.)

When Shakespeare wrote this sentence he had in mind Ecclesiastes x. 1. How do we know? Because he has just written as follows:

" None are so surely caught, when they are catch'd,
As wit turn'd fool: folly, in wisdom hatch'd,
Hath wisdom's warrant and the help of school
And wit's own grace to grace a learned fool."
(*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 69.)

A wise man turn'd fool, hath wisdom's warrant (Ecclesiastes x. 1) that a little folly in a man reputed for wisdom and honour causes his name to stink; and the help of school to teach him this fact; and wit's own grace: a ready wit; for *" that wisdom is unseasonable which is not ready "* (*De Aug.*, vi. iii. *Exempla Antithetorum*) to grace (the follies of) a learned fool; *" for there is a great advantage . . . in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces . . . gracing them by exposition and the like."* (*Adv.*, ii, 23, 30.)

The witty fool, in *Twelfth Night*, is in better case than the foolish wise man in *Measure for Measure* who tainted his wit by slipping so grossly (v. 1. 474); therefore

" Better a witty fool than a foolish wit " (*T.N.*, i. 5, 39),

or a

" Wit turn'd fool." (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 70.)

In the last two of Bacon's sentences, we see that he draws a clear distinction between the eminent man and the ordinary man, which Ecclesiastes x. 1 does not; and Shakespeare does the same; for, as we have seen, his distinction between them is, that

" The little foolery that wise men have makes a great show;"

but

" Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
As foolery in the wise."

Again, in *Lucrece*, where the ordinary man is represented by a little star, a crow, a poor groom and a gnat ; and the eminent man by the moon, the swan, the king and the eagle. And that is why

> " The moon being clouded presently is miss'd
> But little stars may hide them when they list."
> (*Lucrece*, 1007.)

And why

> " The crow may bathe his coal-black wings in mire
> And unperceived fly with the filth away ;
> But if the like the snow-white swan desire
> The stain upon his silver down will stay." (*Ib.*, 1009.)

And why

> " Gnats are unnoted wheresoe'er they fly,
> But eagles gaz'd upon with every eye." (*Ib.*, 1014.)

And why

> " Poor grooms are sightless night, Kings glorious day : "
> (*Ib.*)

Poor grooms are obscure and unnoticed, but Kings are in the limelight, and therefore at a disadvantage, " *because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked ;* " and " as you know what great ones do the less will prattle of " (*T.N.*, i. 2. 33). And are not these " great ones " whom " the less will prattle of " the same as Bacon's " *men of eminent virtue* " whose " *smallest faults are readily seen and talked of* " ?

Again, in *Measure for Measure* (ii. 1. 40), are not those " some condemned for a fault alone " the same as " These men carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect " that " shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault ? " and are not these, again, the same as those " *men of eminent virtue,*" whose " *smallest faults* " (*or defects*) " *are readily seen, talked of and severely censured* " ? And is not this the reason why Bacon wrote at the very beginning of his commentary upon Ecclesiastes x. 1 : " *The condition of men eminent for virtue is* (*as this parable well observes*) *exceeding hard and miserable, because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked ?* "

If any man doubts that the crow represents the ordinary man and the eagle the eminent man, let him turn to *Coriolanus* (iii. 1. 139) where the crows and eagles meet in one line; and while reading this scene he will notice that the crows are "the rabble" (line 136) and "the mutable rank-scented many" (line 66) who, at another time and in another place, "threw up their sweaty nightcaps and uttered such a deal of stinking breath" (*J. Cæsar*, i. 2. 247); and the eagles represent the members of the senate—"the honour'd number" (line 72).

The next sentence in Bacon's commentary is :—

> "*Whence a little folly in a very wise man, a small slip in a very good man, and a little indecency in a polite and elegant man, greatly diminishes their characters and reputations* (by darkening, douting or extinguishing all their good qualities). Indeed, "the dram of eale" (*Ham.*, i. 4. 36) (or the little evil of any kind) "haunting a nobleman" (1*H*4, iii. 1. 185) (or a man that is in reputation for nobleness of character) "doth all the noble substance" (all that is commendable in him) "often dout" (extinguish and utterly obscure) "to his own scandal," and therefore to his own loss of reputation (*scandal and disreputation—Essay* 48); and when an eminent man has lost his reputation, little remains but the "stink" (Geneva Bible, 1585) or the "stinking savour" (Bible 1611).

Again in *The Winter's Tale* :—

> "This most cruel usage of your queen" (this dram of eale or little evil in your disposition) "will ignoble make you" (by darkening, douting or extinguishing all your good qualities) "yea" (and make you) "scandalous to the world," (*W.T.*, ii. 3. 117), and "turn (your) freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril." (*Ib.*, i, 2. 420.)

Owing to an oversight on the part of the editor "the dram of eale" passage in Hamlet's speech has puzzled many critics. In some editions of Shakespeare there are more than seventy attempts to explain it. In the 1604 quarto it runs thus :—

" The dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
To his owne scandle."

As an interpreter of the last twenty-two lines of Hamlet's pre-ghost speech, which contain this passage, Bacon has no equal. He was the first to explain it.

Whenever " dout " is intended in the First Folio it is always printed " doubt," except in *Love's Labour Lost*, where a distinction is made between them.

Many people who are familiar with the expressions " doff your hat " and don your gown " have never heard of " dout the candle " or " dout the fire," yet they are common enough to this day in country villages in the south and west of England. The " deale " of Scotland is equivalent to the " devil " of England; take " d " from each, and we have " eale " and " evil " left.

In the same quarto (1604) we have

" The spirit that I have seen
May be a deale; and the deale hath power."
(*Ham.*, ii. 2. 638.)

In *Antony and Cleopatra* we have

" I must not think there are evils enow to darken all his goodness " (i. 4. 10); where " darken " replaces " dout," and " all his goodness " " all the noble substance."

Mr. Caldecott was, I think, the first to suggest the substitution of " often dout " for " of a doubt," and surely he is right, because the passage as a whole is not only intended to be a short summary of what has gone before, but also to be a modified form of Ecclesiastes x. 1.

If any man doubts this, let them compare *Hamlet's* pre-ghost speech with Worcester's speech to Henry Percy (1*H*4, iii. 1. 177-189). Hamlet's speech is a short discourse upon public and private folly, and Worcester's is a short discourse upon private folly only. The one contains " oft," " fault " and " defect "; the other has " oftentimes," " fault " and " defect." Worcester's gives us an example of that " complexion " which Hamlet speaks of as " oft breaking down the pales and fortes of reason."

" Mr. Speaker, I know of but two forts in this house which the king ever hath, the fort of affection and the fort of reason, the one commands the hearts and the other commands the heads." (*Life*, v. p. 43.* Speech by Sir Fr. Bacon in the Lower House when the House was in great heat, and much troubled about the Undertakers. 12 *Jacobi*, 1615).

Hotspur, by giving way to his unreasonable and ungovernable temper, breaks down the fort of reason, and at the same time loses the fort of affection ; and we see that his " harsh rage " not only fails to command, but

" Loseth men's hearts, and leaves behind a stain
Upon the beauty of all parts besides,
Beguiling him of commendation." (1*H4*, iii, 1. 187).

In the first part of Hamlet's speech the principal devil is drunkenness ; but in Worcester's speech " It hath pleased the devil drunkenness to give place to the devil wrath." (*Oth.*, ii. 3. 298) ; thus

" One unperfectness shows me another." (*Ib.*)

The last part of Worcester's speech, though differing in phrase, is the same in substance as the last part of Hamlet's ; and as the last part of Hamlet's speech is intended to be a modified form of Ecclesiastes x. 1., so is the last part of Worcester's ; indeed, Worcester is teaching Hotspur the lesson of this parable and giving him " the help of school " spoken of in *Love's Labour's Lost* when the author's mind was busy with " folly, in wisdom hatch'd, hath wisdom's warrant " (Eccles. x. 1.) " and the help of school ; " and, at the end of the lesson, Hotspur replies :

" Well, I am school'd : good manners be your speed ! "

Ecclesiastes x. 1 has " a little folly ; " Bacon's explanation has *" a little folly," " a small slip," " and a little indecency."*

These are all included in " the dram of eale," by which is meant, the little evil of any kind : " the least of which haunting a nobleman " (Worcester's speech), " doth all the noble substance often dout " (Hamlet's speech) " to

*" Fort of reason," (not a common expression) is found again in Bacon's *Praise of Fortitude* (*Northumberland MSS.*, F. J. Burgoyne, p. 4)—*" Thus is fortitude the marshall of thoughts, the armour of the will, and the fort of reason."*

his own scandal," and therefore to his own loss of reputation; or, as Bacon says, greatly diminishes his character and reputation (*de fama et existimatione multum detrahit*). (*De Aug.*, viii, 2, *parabola* xi.) Similarly, Hamlet in his pre-ghost speech, does not speak of the Danes as the best men, but as men whose achievements were performed "at height." The author of the speech, however, chose them as the best men to serve his purpose, which was to show that no matter what virtues they possessed, yet this one piece of folly: "this heavy-headed revel" "makes us traduced and taxed of other nations" and "takes from our achievements, though performed at height, the pith and marrow of our attribute;" "*for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues*" (*Essay* 52). Who then are the "particular men," "carrying the stamp of one defect" that "shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault"? They surely, as we have seen, must be eminent men; for you cannot dout or extinguish "all the noble substance" if there is no noble substance to start with. In his *Novum Organum* Bacon speaks of "*the human soul, the noblest of substances*" (*Nov. Org.*, i. 63), and Shakespeare writes: "I think nobly of the soul." (*T.N.* iv. 2. 59.)

If then a man is 'drowning his soul in a gallon pot', he is drowning his noble substance; and also his reputation and good name; and "*Solomon saith a good name is like a good odour, a good ointment casts a fragrant smell.*" (*Life*, vi., p. 110) Therefore, "*Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*" (a good name is like a sweet-smelling ointment). (*Essay*, 53.)

Whom was Escalus addressing when he said:

> "And some condemned for a fault alone."
> (*Meas.*, ii. 1. 40.)?

It was Angelo, the man of "absolute power and place here in Vienna." This is the foolish wise man who, carrying the stamp of one defect, has taken corruption from that particular fault ever since the publication of *Measure for Measure*. No doubt the words applied to Claudio, but they were also a hint to Angelo.

Who said: "Turn then my freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril"? It was Polixenes, a king accused of being false and perfidious to Leontes. And who can doubt that the author of the speech had Ecclesiastes x. 1. of the 1611 Bible in mind while writing it? And who can doubt that the reason why Polixenes called down such a penetrating stink upon his own reputation was because "*there is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious*"? (*Essay*, i).

Who was the man whose cruelty and tyranny would "make him ignoble, yea, scandalous to the world?" It was Leontes, another king. Whom had Worcester in mind when he said "you must needs learn lord, to amend this fault" "which leaves behind a stain"? It was Henry Percy, a nobleman.

We have also seen that the Duke of Norfolk was the fair and crystal sky, and the ugly clouds were the flaws in his character, which made him traduced and taxed by Bolingbroke.

Whom had Celia in mind when she said, "The little foolery that wise men have makes a great show"? It was her father, Duke Frederick, who was so traduced and taxed by Touchstone that Celia says to him: "You'll be whipped for taxation one of these days."

The Danes are accused of a public folly which, says Hamlet, "makes us traduced and taxed of other nations," and Duke Frederick is accused of a private folly, which makes him traduced and taxed by Touchstone; so "the wise man's folly is anatomized even by the squandering glances of the fool." (*As You.*, ii. 7. 56.)

These were all eminent men; and, as three of them were noblemen, it is easy to understand why "the dram of eale," or the little evil of any kind "haunting a nobleman," "doth all the noble substance often dout to his own scandal." And, as two of them were kings, it is easy to understand why "greatest scandal waits on greatest state;" and we have already seen why scandal does not wait on "ordinary men," "poor grooms" or "fools."

It is certain that the tainting and corrupting of a sweet-smelling ointment by putrid flies, makes it traduced and

taxed of all men ; takes the pith and marrow from its attribute ; loseth men's hearts ; beguiles it of commendation, and turns its freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril. And when we come to inquire how much folly, how much eale or evil ; how many faults, defects, imperfections or unperfectnesses are necessary in the case of an eminent man, to

make him traduced and taxed of other men (*Ham.*, i. 4. 18) ;
to *greatly diminish his character and reputation* (*De Aug.*, viii. 2) ;
to take the pith and marrow from his attribute (*Ham.*, i. 4. 22) ;
to lose men's hearts (1*H4*, iii. 1. 187) ;
to beguile him of commendation (*Ib.*, 189) ;
to darken his virtue (*Essay*, 55) ;
to darken all his goodness (*A. and C.*, i. 4. 11) ;
to darken his nobleness (*Pericles*, iii. 2. 28) ;
to dout (or extinguish) all his noble substance (*Ham.*, i. 4. 37) ; and so,
to make him ignoble, scandalous to the world (*W. Tale*, ii. 3. 120) ;
to destroy the "*sweet odour of honour and reputation*" (*Life*, ii. p. 85),
even as "*muscae morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti*" (Latin Bible, 1498 Eccles. x. 1) ; (Dying flies destroy the sweetness of the ointment) ;
to cause his name to stink (*De Aug.*, viii. 2. 11) ;
to "send forth a stinking savour" (Bible 1611), or a "savour that may strike the dullest nostril" (*W.T.*, i. 2. 420) ;
the answer is, "one defect" or "that particular fault" ;

Worcester says "the least of which," and Hamlet thinks "the dram" is often enough, and Escalus says, "some condemned for a fault alone."

Each of the eminent men mentioned above either has, or is accused of having, some particular fault, defect or imperfection from which he takes corruption, even as the sweet-smelling ointment takes corruption from putrid flies,

and in each case the accuser or accused brings into his or her speech an element of Ecclesiastes x. 1, and that element is either an echo of, or a reason given for, some statement made by Bacon in his explanation of this parable.

Chapter I, Part II

Bacon's solicitude for the "miserable condition" of the eminent men led him to suggest a curious remedy :—

> "*It might therefore be no bad policy for eminent men to intermingle with their actions a few absurdities which may be discreetly committed*" (For folly that he wisely shows is fit" (*T.N.*, iii. 1. 74), "*to retain some liberty for themselves and to confound the observation of little defects,*" (*Works*, 1. p. 756).

These "absurdities" are nothing more than the prudent and artful manifestations of virtues and an equally artful concealment of vices. (*Works*, v. p. 68).

The former (self-display) he takes "*from Tacitus who says of Mucianus, the wisest and most active politician of his time ;* "*Omnium, quae dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator*" (that he had a certain art of setting forth to advantage everything he said and did). Then Bacon goes on to say, "*certainly it requires some art to prevent this conduct from becoming wearisome and contemptible*" ; and this brings us to a remarkable speech of nine lines by Viola in *Twelfth Night* (iii. 1. 67-75), which begins with the wisdom of playing the fool, where Bacon ends, and ends with Ecclesiastes x. 1. where Bacon begins :

> "This fellow's wise enough to play the fool ;
> And to do that well craves a kind of wit :
> He must observe their mood on whom he jests,
> The quality of persons, and the time,
> And, like the haggard, check at every feather
> That comes before his eye. This is a practice
> As full of labour as a wise man's art ;
> For folly that he wisely shows is fit ;
> But wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit."

In the last two lines we have two different kinds of folly: one which is fit and proper if it be wisely shown, and another kind which taints the wit or wisdom of the foolish wise man, and causes his name to yield an ill odour, and which is condemned in Ecclesiastes x. 1.

The suggestion advanced by Bacon is the use of some discreet kind of folly to cover up a man's indiscreet folly; for, as he says in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605) "*there is a great advantage . . . in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces . . . gracing them by exposition and the like,*" even as Mucianus graced his virtues by setting forth to advantage everything he said and did. "*Certainly it requires some art,*" says Bacon, and Viola says: "This is a practice as full of labour as a wise man's art;" and it is probable, though not certain, that this "Wise man's art" is that of Mucianus, the wisest man of his time; but however that may be, it is certain that the "kind of wit" in the second line of Viola's speech is the same as that "wit's own grace to grace (the follies of) a learned fool" which the author of *Love's Labour's Lost* wrote when his mind was busy with "folly, in wisdom hatch'd," and which obviously refers to Ecclesiastes x. 1. And as Mucianus had the wit to grace his virtues by the use of a few absurdities, or a little tomfoolery; so, a "wit turn'd fool" must have "wit's own grace" (A ready wit) to grace his follies; and all the power of wit he must apply "to prove, by wit, worth in simplicity" (tomfoolery) (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 78).

When we come to the concealment of vices we shall give examples of this foolery in the plays.

"This fellow," in Viola's speech, must also have the "kind of wit" "*to obtain that curious window into hearts of which the ancients speak,*" (*Life*, i. p. 390), and which the author of *Love's Labour's Lost* seems to have in mind when he writes: "Behold the window of my heart" (v. 2. 848).

"*This window* (*which Momus required*) *we shall obtain by carefully procuring good information of the particular persons with whom we have to deal . . . their moods and times*" (*De Aug.*, viii. 2): "*Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras*" (*Aen.*, iv. 423) (You alone know his weaknesses, his moods and times).

" He must observe their mood on whom he jests,
The quality of persons, and the time." (Viola's speech.)

As to the quality of persons:

" Great men may jest with saints: 'tis wit in them,
But in the less foul profanation." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 127.)

In dedicating his *Praise of Folly* to Sir Thomas More, the great man Erasmus is jesting with a saint. I understand a saint to be a man who, like the sun, can look into sinks without being infected by them. Such a man was Sir Thomas More; but a simple or innocent man has no knowledge of sinks. Such a man according to Bacon was Henry VI. This was the man who predicted that Richmond, while yet a lad, should be England's King:

" *This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.*" (*Hist. Hen. VII.* end).

and this is what Shakespeare writes:

" This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss,
His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
His head by nature framed to wear a crown,
His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself
Likely in time to bless a regal throne."
(*3H6*, iv. 6. 70).

Afterwards when Richmond became King, he desired Pope Julius " *to canonise King Henry the sixth for a saint; the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the King's own assumption to the crown.*" (*Hist. Hen. VII*). Julius referred the matter to his cardinals, but " *it died in the reference,*" and Bacon thought the most probable cause was that the Pope " . . . *knowing that King Henry the sixth was reputed abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.*" (*Hist. Hen. VII, Works* vi. pp. 233–4). Turn, now, to *3H6* (i. 2. 59) and there you will find, " Trust not simple Henry."

As to " the time " in Viola's speech:

" *Dulce est desipere in loco* " (well timed folly has a

sweet relish). (*Praise of Folly*, Eras., and Horace, Od. 4. 12. 28. Translation by W. Kennet.)

This is not only true of jesting time, but also in serious times. In that discourse between Menenius Agrippa and Brutus (*Coriolanus*, v. 1. 50), Menenius thinks Cominius failed to soften the heart of Coriolanus because

> " He was not taken well ; he had not dined :
> . . . therefore I'll watch him
> Till he be dieted to my request,
> And then I'll set upon him."

And Brutus replies :

> " You know the very road into his kindness, and cannot lose your way,"

which is a strong reminder of " *Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.*"

Certainly Menenius knew the best time to take a man in his best mood (" *His times and seasons of access :*" *Works* i. p. 584). In *Love's Labour's Lost* (v. 2. 63) it is not a question of supplication but of obedience. Rosaline would make Biron observe the times and seasons of access :

> " How I would make him fawn and beg and seek
> And wait the season and observe the times."

To return once more to Bacon's absurdities. Regarding ostentation he says, " *Praise yourself boldly and some of it will stick ; doubtless it will stick with the crowd though the wiser sort smile at it ; so that the reputation procured with the number will abundantly reward the contempt of a few. But if this self-display, whereof I am speaking, be carried with decency and discretion* (" His folly sauced with discretion ; ") (*Troilus*, i. 2. 23) *it may greatly contribute to raise a man's reputation.*" (*Works*, i. p. 780).

The man who sauced his folly with discretion was Ajax, an eminent man among the Greeks, and, like the " particular men " in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech, he had infinite virtues, but instead of " one defect " or " particular fault " he had many attaints to stain them :

> " There is no man hath a virtue that he hath not some

glimpse of, nor any man an attaint but he carries some stain of it." (*Troilus*, i. 2. 24).

This is the third time we have come upon the word "stain," and on each occasion the author of it had in mind Ecclesiastes x. 1.

It comes upon the silver down of the swan, which the author of *Lucrece* brings into those four consecutive analogies, between lines 1007 and 1015, to drive in a point which is a special feature of Bacon's Ecclesiastes x. 1.; namely, the difference between eminent men and ordinary men (kings and poor grooms). I say "special feature" because the parable itself says nothing about the ordinary man. We should think it strange enough that two men unknown to each other should pick out the same parable from so many verses in the Bible, and surely even more strange that they should both take note of the fact that the parable said nothing about the ordinary man, and that they should think it worth while to give him a place in their writings, and to draw the same distinction between him and the eminent man. The author of *Love's Labour's Lost*, while drawing a distinction between folly in wise men and "folly in fools," actually tells us that he has Ecclesiastes x. 1 in his mind.

Bacon's hand can easily be traced again in *Lucrece* by drawing upon his explanation of Proverbs xii. 10 where he writes:

> "Solomon wisely adds, 'That the mercies of the wicked are cruel,' such is the sparing to use the sword of justice upon wicked and guilty men.' (*De Aug.*, viii. 2, *parabola* xiv.)

Then

> "Let the traitor die;
> For sparing justice feeds iniquity"
> (*Lucrece*, 1686).

And why does sparing justice feed iniquity? Because, says Bacon, "*impunity to crime arms and lets loose the whole army of evil doers, and drives them upon the innocent.*" (*Ib.*) He has in mind the principle "*Salus populi est suprema lex*" (*Life*, i. p. 383)—(The best law is that which guards the

safety of the people). And when the author of *Lucrece* wrote "Let the traitor die" he had in mind exactly the same principle, and when we come to deal with Proverbs xii. 10., it will be shown that Shakespeare makes use of Bacon's argument ten or eleven times.

In the following speech it will be seen that Bacon also makes use of four consecutive analogies to drive in his proposition that the safety of the country comes before all else:

> "*Sure I am that the treasure that cometh from you to Her Majesty is but as a vapour which riseth from the earth and gathereth into a cloud, and stayeth not there long, but upon the same earth it falleth again: and what if some drops of this do fall upon France and Flanders? It is like a sweet odour of honour and reputation to our nation throughout the world.* ("The heavens rain odours on you"; *T.N.*, iii. 1. 96.) *But I will only insist upon the natural and inviolate law of preservation. . . . The prints of this are everywhere to be found. The patient will ever part with some of his blood to save and clear the rest. The seafaring man will in a storm cast over some of his goods to save and assure the rest. The husbandman will afford some foot of ground for his hedge and ditch to fortify and defend the rest. Why, Mr. Speaker, the disputer will if he be wise and cunning grant somewhat that seemeth to make against him, because he will keep himself within the strength of his opinion, and the better maintain the rest.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 86.)

We came upon the word "stain" again in Worcester's lecture to Hotspur who, like Ajax, had certain virtues or graces—"greatness, courage, blood"; but he too had many attaints, such as "harsh rage, defect of manners, want of government, pride, haughtiness, opinion and disdain," which left behind a stain.

Whether or not this came from Tacitus I am not sure, but certain it is that Galba's actions lost men's hearts, and left behind a stain upon the beauty of all parts besides, beguiling him of commendation. He so angered the Roman soldiers that they traduced even his good actions as well as his bad:

"*Invisio semel principe, seu bene, seu male, facta premunt.*" (The emperor (Galba) once in ill odour, his actions whether good or bad make him traduced.) (*Tac. Hist.* i. 7., *C. Platin*, 1596, p. 440.)

And "*if it come to that that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible* (*quae merito plausum vulgi mererentur*—Latin edition), *and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced, that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, 'Conflatâ magna invidiâ, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.'*" (*Essay* xv.) (Great discontentment once kindled against him, his actions, good or bad, make him traduced), because they are equally sour and offensive to the people.

This passage in *Tacitus* is probably the origin of that senseless passage in Hamlet's speech:

> "Or by some habit that too much o'er-leavens
> The form of plausive manners." (i. 4. 29.)

The want of sense, however, seems to come, not so much from Tacitus as from Pliny, who made a bad guess when he wrote: "As touching the nature of levain, certain it is that it proceeded from sourness" (Holland's *Pliny*, Vol. i. p. 566); for certain it is that levain does *not* proceed from sourness.

From this same book we learn that housewives used to withdraw a portion of the yeasted dough of to-day to infect the fresh dough of to-morrow's baking; and when to-morrow came, this withdrawn dough had become sour; and the sourness was thought to be caused by over-leavening; and that to over-leaven dough was to sour it; and so the author of Hamlet's speech thought he might write o'er-leavens as the equivalent of sours; just as Bacon thought he might write "*A little leaven . . . doth commonly sour the whole lump . . .*" (*Hist. Henry VII*); and again, "*sour the lump of all Papists in their loyalty*" (*Life*, v. p. 162). A little leaven never yet turned anything sour; it does not turn new into sour milk, nor new wine into vinegar. When St. Paul wrote "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (Galatians v. 9), he did not go beyond the knowledge of the day; but Bacon had a

habit of guessing the cause of things—nowhere better seen than in his *Sylva Sylvarum* and *Wisdom of the Ancients*.

As Bacon rightly thought that yeast was a "*prime mover*" because it excites action in another body (*Nov. Org.* ii. 48); so he thought that a man, by some invidious habit, could excite and provoke other men to discontentment and opposition and make himself traduced, which is what Galba did. Therefore to turn the passage in Hamlet's speech into sense, it would seem that we should understand it to mean: some invidious habit that, by exciting the ill will of the people, sours their minds against even his plausive or pleasing actions "*Actiones gratas*"—*Latin Essay* ix), and ("*quae merito plausum vulgi mererentur*,"—*Latin Essay* xv), and which ought to give greatest contentment.

It is almost certain that the author of the passage we are speaking of had Galba in mind while writing it, as it is almost certain he had Hotspur in mind while writing "the o'ergrowth of some complexion oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason."

It is a common saying that if people dislike a man they will, all too often, hear nothing good of him, and the other way about:

> "If they love they know not why, they hate upon
> No better ground." (*Cor.* ii. 2. 10.)

Just as the author of Hamlet's speech is referring to some habit, so Bacon when he wrote "*A little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits*" was referring to the habit of importunity which, in part, caused the downfall of Sir William Stanley. This man had received great rewards for saving Henry's life at Bosworth Field, but such was his greed that he became a suitor for the earldome of Chester; which suit, says Bacon, "*did not only end in a denial, but in a distaste.*" Further, Sir Robert Clifford had been pouring into Henry's ear poisonous tales of Stanley's disloyalty, so that the little leaven of new distaste, in process of time, soured the whole lump of Stanley's former merits in Henry's mind: not unlike the effect of the poison that Iago poured into the ear of Othello, which also began with a distaste, and

ended in the death of the person for whom the distaste was conceived :

> " The Moor already changes with my poison :
> Dangerous conceits are in their natures poisons,
> Which at the first are scarce found to distaste,
> But with a little act upon the blood,
> Burn like mines of sulphur." (*Oth.* iii. 3. 325.)

Again in the *Dream* the author makes the same mistake as Bacon does. Each thought that if you could eliminate the force of gravity, represented by the word " adamant " in the *Dream*, similitude of substance would cause attraction, which is another bad guess, but these mistakes will be dealt with in another place.

The last line of Bacon's commentary upon Ecclesiastes x. 1., clearly shows that he intended his " *few absurdities* " to be used by eminent men, not so much to display their virtues, but " *to confound the observation of little defects* " ; for " *a diligent concealment of defects is no less important than a prudent and artful manifestation of virtues.*" (*Works* i. p. 781.)

" *As to the concealment of vices the poet said well :*

" *Saepe latet vitium proximitate boni.*" (*Ib.* p. 781.) (Vice often hides itself under the shadow of a neighbouring virtue.)

" *So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for covert and hiding itself*" . . . " *and sanctuary-men, which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates and holy men ; for the majesty of good things is such, as the confines of them are revered.*" (*Works* vii. p. 86.)

Richard III was an inordinate man and a malefactor, and he, too, drew near to religion for covert and hiding himself :

" Enter Richard, aloft between two bishops."
(*R3*, iii. 7. 95.)

Mayor of London :

" See where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen ! "

Buckingham :

" Two props of virtue for a Christian prince . . . "

" . . . And see a book of prayer in his hand,
True ornaments to know a holy man."

However this foolery may have stuck with the crowd, it seems certain that the wiser sort smiled at it. But Richard followed the advice of Machiavel :

" Machiavel directs men to have little regard for virtue itself, but only for the show and public reputation of it" (*De Aug.*, vii. 2), *" because the credit of virtue is a help but the use of it is cumber."* (*Adv.*, ii. 23, 45.)

" Apparel vice like virtue's harbinger ;
Bear a fair presence, though your heart be tainted."
(*Errors*, iii. 2. 12.)

" Assume a virtue if you have it not."
(*Ham.*, iii. 4. 160.)

" And with a virtuous vizor hide deep vice."
(*R3*, ii. 2. First Folio).

" Make our faces vizards to our hearts, disguising what they are." (*Macb.*, iii. 2. 34.)

" 'Tis too much proved—that with devotion's visage
And pious action, we do sugar o'er
The devil himself." (*Ham.*, iii. 1. 46.)

" So as now the world may see how long since my Lord put off his vizard, and disclosed the secrets of his heart."
(*Life*, ii. p. 257.)

" Others there are
Who, trimm'd in forms and visages of duty,
Keep yet their hearts attending on themselves."
(*Oth.*, i. 1. 39.)

" And therefore whatsoever want a man hath, he must see that he pretend the virtue that shadoweth it ; as if he be dull he must affect gravity ; if a coward mildness ; and so the rest." (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 32.)

As to dullness and gravity :

" There are a sort of men whose visages
Do cream and mantle like a standing pond,
And do a wilful stillness entertain,
With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom, gravity," etc. (*Merch.*, i. 1. 88.)

" *Stilus prudentiæ silentium.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. 3, *Antitheta.*) (Silence is the style of wisdom.)

1. " O my Antonio I do know of these
That therefore only are reputed wise
For saying nothing."
(*Merch.*, i. 1. 95.)

2. " I must be one of these same dumb wise men,
For Gratiano never lets me speak."
(*Ib.*, i. 1. 106.)

" *Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion.*"
(*Essay* 26.)

" With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom." (*Merch.*, i. 1. 91.)

The expression " makes shift " is used by Portia (i. 2. 97).

" *Opinioni se venditat, qui silet.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. 3, *Antitheta.*) (He who is silent fishes for opinion.)

1. " But fish not, with this melancholy bait,
For this fool gudgeon, this opinion."
(*Merch.*, i. 1. 101.)

2. " Whiles others fish with craft for great opinion."
(*Troilus*, iv. 4. 106.)

" *Silence is the virtue of a fool. And therefore it is well said to a man that would not speak, 'If you are wise you are a fool; if you are a fool you are wise.'* " (*Antitheta*).

If these silent men in the *Merchant of Venice* were wise they should speak,

" When, I am very sure,
If they should speak, would almost damn those ears,
Which, hearing them, would call their brothers fools."
(*Merch.*, i. 1. 97.)

" *Silentium ambit veritatem.*" (*Antitheta.*) (Silence is the candidate for truth.)

" That truth should be silent I had almost forgot."
(*A. and C.*, ii. 2. 109.)

I have stayed a little upon Gratiano's speech, partly because it begins with " Let me play the fool," and partly

because, like Viola's speech, which begins with "This fellow's wise enough to play the fool," it has in it a savour of Bacon strong enough to strike the dullest nostril.

As to patience and cowardice :—

> "That which in mean men we intitle patience
> Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts."
> (*R2*, i. 2. 23.)

As to shaking by the beard unrevenged :—

> "Am I a coward ?
> Who calls me villain ? breaks my pate across ?
> Plucks off my beard, and blows it in my face ?"
> (*Ham.*, ii. 2. 598.)

> ". . . for it cannot be
> But I am pigeon liver'd and lack gall . . ."
> (*Ib.*, 603.)

". . . O, vengeance !" (*Ib.*, 610.)

> "There is no vice so simple but assumes
> Some mark of virtue on his outward parts :
> How many cowards, whose hearts are all as false
> As stairs of sand, wear yet upon their chins
> The beards of Hercules and frowning Mars,
> Who, inward search'd, have livers white as milk."
> (*M. of V.*, iii. 2. 81.)

"*They that are beautiful, and they that are affected by beauty are commonly alike-light.*" (*Exempla Anthithetorum, De Aug.*, vi. 3.)

> "Look on beauty,
> And you shall see 'tis purchased by the weight ;
> Which therein works a miracle in nature,
> Making them lightest that wear most of it."
> (*M. of V.*, iii. 2. 88.)

And,

"for that her reputation was disvalued in levity," (*Meas.*, v. 1. 221) "*it is at least necessary that virtue be not disvalued.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 31.)

Bacon often writes "disvalued," Shakespeare only once.

Again, if we have some inherited defect, wherein, "Being nature's livery, or fortune's star," we are not

guilty, "Since nature cannot choose his origin"; once more "*We must pretend the virtue that shadoweth it . . and so make necessity appear a virtue.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. 2.)

> "Mislike me not for my complexion,
> The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun,
> To whom I am a neighbour and near bred."
> (*M. of V.*, ii. 1. 1.)

It would seem that the prince of Morocco thought that "*the majesty of good things was such as the confines of them would be revered*," and claimed a near relationship with the sun to raise himself in Portia's estimation. His complexion, "being nature's livery," he could not help, and so makes necessity appear a virtue.

"*As to confidence, it is indeed an impudent, but yet the surest and most effectual remedy; namely, for a man to profess to depreciate and despise whatsoever he cannot obtain; after the principle of prudent merchants, whose business and custom it is to raise the price of their own commodities, and beat down the price of others.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. 2.)

> "Fair Diomed, you do as chapmen do,
> Dispraise the thing that you desire to buy."
> (*Troilus*, iv. 1. 75.)

"*It is naught, it is naught (says the buyer); but when he is gone his way he will vaunt.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iii. and Prov. xx. 14.)

> "But we in silence hold this virtue well,
> We'll but commend what we intend to sell."
> (*Troilus*, iv. 1. 77.)

"*But there is another kind of assurance more impudent than this, by which a man brazens out his own defects, and forces them upon others for excellencies, and the better to secure this end, he will feign a distrust of himself in those things wherein he really excels.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.)

Thus the pompous schoolmaster in *Love's Labour's Lost*, having composed and delivered a feeble verse of which he is really proud feigns a distrust in himself, calling it "simple—a foolish extravagant spirit."

" It is the witness still of excellency
To put a strange face on his own perfection."*
(*Ado.*, ii. 3. 48.)

" . . . *like poets who if you except of any particular verse in their composition, will presently tell you that that single line cost them more trouble than all the rest; and then produce you another, as suspected by themselves, for your opinion, whilst, of all the number, they know it to be the best and least liable to exception.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.)

" Thus wisdom wishes to appear most bright
When it doth tax itself." (*Meas.*, ii. 4. 78.)

We see the same kind of foolery in musicians and orators:

" Come, Balthasar, we'll hear that song again."
" O ! good my lord, tax not so bad a voice
To slander music any more than once."
" . . . Note this before my notes;
There's not a note of mine that's worth the noting."
(*Ado*, ii, 3. 45–57.)

Balthasar is feigning a distrust of himself in those things wherein he really excels, and so is Bacon when he writes: "*Though I cannot challenge to myself either invention, or judgement, or elocution, or method, or any of those powers.*" (*Life*, iv. p. 280.)

And so is Marcus Antonius when he says:

" For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power."
(*J. Cæsar*, iii. 2. 225.)

Each man is putting " a strange face on his own perfection"; and it is equally true of all of them that " wisdom wishes to appear most bright when it doth tax itself."

* See the Letters of Dedication addressed by " Shakespeare " to Lord Southampton prefixed to *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. He knew these poems were both scholarly and polished:—
" My unpolished lines."
" So weak a burthen."
" My untutored lines."
" Were my worth greater."

Regarding the word " action " in Antony's speech :

" Question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator ? he answered, Action : what next ?— Action : what next again ?—Action." (*Essay*, 12.)

" Action is eloquence." (*Coriol.*, iii. 2. 76.)

" How can I grace my talk
Wanting a hand to give it action ? " (*Titus*, v. 2. 17.)

" Thy niece and I, poor creatures, want our hands,
And cannot passionate our ten-fold grief
With folded arms." (*Ib.*, iii. 2. 5.)

Similarly with the word " utterance " :

" What variety of knowledge, what rareness of conceit. What choice of words, what grace of utterance. (*Life*, i. p. 138.)

" With all the gracious utterance thou hast
Speak to his gentle hearing kind commends ? " (*R2*, iii. 3. 125.)

" Nor can I utter all our bitter grief,
But floods of tears will drown my oratory,
And break my utterance." (*Titus*, v. 3. 89.)

" I have a speech of fire that fain would blaze,
But that this folly douts it." (*Ham.*, iv. 7. 291.)

" This folly " is the water from Laertes' eyes, which " douts the fire " of his speech and drowns his oratory. " Douts " is printed " doubts " in the First Folio, which makes nonsense ; just as " of a doubt " makes nonsense in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech (*Quarto* 1604). In this same quarto Laertes' speech ends with : " But that this folly drowns it." And if it drowns his oratory it must also break his utterance.

Chapter I, Part III

We must now introduce Thomas Nashe, whose name is associated with the names of Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare in one place only, namely, the outside sheet of the famous Northumberland MSS. These men were three of the most brilliant writers in the time of

Elizabeth; but neither ever mentioned the name of the other two, and yet when writing about a particular subject they always thought alike, though they expressed themselves differently.

The first work attributed to Nashe was published in 1589, the last in 1600, and he died in 1601. He states that some of the work attributed to him was not his, and many, with good reason, think that much of it was written by Bacon. If this is true we might expect him to be as interested as Bacon and Shakespeare were in Ecclesiastes x. 1. as indeed he was.

Fourteen years before the publication of the first quarto of *Hamlet* (1603) he seems to have known more about the play than any other man, and eleven years before that date he published his version of the last lines of Hamlet's pre-ghost speech, which, as we have seen, are based upon Ecclesiastes x. 1., and which we will now compare with Shakespeare.

Nashe. "*Let him be indued with never so many virtues.*" (Vol. ii. p. 79—Grosart.)

Shak. "His virtues else—be they as pure as grace,"

Nashe. "*And have as much goodly proportion and favour as nature can bestow upon a man.*" (*Ib.*);

Shak. "As infinite as man may undergo,"

Nashe. "*Yet if he be thirsty after his own destruction, and hath no joy nor comfort but when he is drowning his soul in a gallon pot, that one beastly imperfection will utterly obscure all that is commendable in him, and all his good qualities sink like lead down to the bottom of his carousing cups*" (*Ib.*), and

Shak. "leave behind a stain
Upon the beauty of all parts besides,
Beguiling him of commendation"
(1*H*4, iii. 1. 187.)

Bacon. and "*greatly diminish his character and reputation.*" (Bacon's Eccles. x. 1.);

Shak. "take the pith and marrow from his attribute," and

Bacon. so "*cause his name to yield an ill odour.*"

On page 78 of the same volume Nashe, speaking of excessive drinking, says,

Nashe. "*If we saw a man go wallowing in the streets, or lying sleeping under a board, we would have . . . called him foul drunken swine.*"

As of the Tinker, Sly, found in a drunken sleep (*T. of S. Induction*) :—

Oh, monstrous beast, how like a *swine* he lies !
Grim death, how *foul* and loathsome is thine image !

Shak. "*They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase soil our addition.*"

"The dram of eale" or the little evil in a man's character is represented in Nashe by "*that one beastly imperfection*" which "*will utterly obscure all that is commendable in him.*"

Not only does Nashe help us to understand this "dram of eale" passage in *Hamlet*, but he also helps us to discover Ecclesiastes x. 1. for the second time in *Richard II* :—

Bacon. "*All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, 'Remember thou art a man ;' and 'remember thou art a God.'*"
(*Essay* 19.)

Nashe. "*Kings are gods on earth, their actions must not be sounded by their subjects.*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 218.)

Shak. "And shall the figure of God's majesty (Richard II)
Be judged by subject and inferior breath ?"
(*R2*, iv. 1. 125.)

Bacon. "*Your Majesty being God's lieutenant on earth.*"
(*Life*, v. p. 249.)

Duchess of York to King Henry IV :

Shak. "A god on earth thou art." (*R2*, v. 3. 136.)

Nashe. "*Simonides*" to "*Pausanias King of the Lacedemonians.*" "*Remember thou art a man.*"
(Vol. i. p. 47.)

Nashe. Pausanias scorned this speech, but later while starving in prison he cried, "*O my friend of Coeos would God I had regarded thy words.*" (*Ib.*) ;

Nashe. but "*Good COUNSEL is never remembered nor respected till men have given their farewell to felicity.*" (*Ib.*)

Shak. "Then all too late comes COUNSEL to be heard
Where WILL doth MUTINY with WIT'S regard"
(*R2*, ii. 1. 27) ;

Nashe. for "*When WIT gives place to WILL, and REASON to affection, then folly with full sail launcheth forth.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 27);

and when folly launcheth forth of a man that is in reputation for wisdom and honour it causes his name to yield an ill odour, even "*Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguentum optimum* (even "as dead flies cause the best ointment to stink"—*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* xi). This is Bacon's own version of Ecclesiastes x. 1. which differs from all other versions; but without Nashe as a guide we might never have suspected that the author of *Richard II* had this same parable in mind while writing, "Where WILL doth MUTINY with WIT'S regard."

The "MUTINIES and seditions of the affections" may be found in the *Advancement of Learning* (ii. 18. 4—1605) and why it is that the affections commonly override REASON; in other words why "*WIT gives place to WILL and REASON to affection*" as they did in the case of "*Pausanias King of the Lacedemonians*" and Richard II King of England. Did not Richard II scorn the speech of his dying uncle, just as Pausanias scorned the speech of Simonides? And did they not both bid farewell to felicity and languish in prison till death had mercy on them?

Let us now see if there are any other elements of Ecclesiastes x. 1. in *Richard II* and *Cardinal Wolsey*, with whom we have just been dealing.

Richard II thought himself a wise man:—

"This music mads me; let it sound no more;
For though it have holp madmen to their wits,
In me it seems it will make WISE men mad."
(*R2*, v. 5. 61.)

But he also speaks of "my weav'd up follyes."
(*First Folio*, iv. 1. 231.)

Here, then, we have a wise man "folly-fall'n."
Again, in *Henry VIII*, we read that Wolsey was
"Exceeding WISE, fair-spoken and persuading."
(*H8*, iv. 2. 52.);

but yet

"A man sorely tainted" (iv. 2. 14);

for he, like Angelo, tainted his wits by slipping so grossly :—

" I am sorry, one so learned and so WISE
As you, Lord Angelo, have still appeared,
Should slip so grossly." (*Meas.*, v. 1. 74.)

When Wolsey came to know himself and recognise his foolish mistakes, he said :

" O negligence ! fit for a fool " (iii. 2. 214.)

So we have two more WISE men folly-fall'n ; and

" WISE men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit."
(*T.N.*, iii. 1. 75) ;

and

" a little folly in a man that is in reputation for wisdom and honour causes his name to send forth a stinking savour." (Bible, 1611.)

And now that we have traced Ecclesiastes x. 1 (and therefore Bacon) fifteen times in Shakespeare, it now remains to double-trace him in many of the same plays by making use of his explanation of Proverbs xii. 10.

SHAKESPEARE PARALLELS WITH :

ECCLESIASTES X. 1.	PROVERBS XII. 10
1. *Hamlet*, i. 4. 17–38.	*R2*, v. 3. 83.
2. *1H4*, iii. 1. 177–89.	*R2*, v. 3. 67.
3. *R2*, i. 1. 41.	*Meas.*, ii. 2. 100.
4. *R2*, ii. 1. 27.	*Meas.*, iii. 1. 150.
*5. *1H6*, iv. 7. 90.	*H8*, v. 3. 24.
*6. *L.L.L.*, v. 2. 70.	*H8*, v. 1. 52.
*7. *T.N.*, iii. 1. 75.	*Lucrece*, 1687.
*8. *W.T.*, i. 2. 420.	*Romeo*, iii. 1. 202.
9. *W.T.*, ii. 3. 117–21.	*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 68.
10. *As You*, i. 2. 96.	*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 76.
11. *Meas.*, ii. 1. 40.	*H5*, ii. 2. 45.
12. *Troilus*, i. 2. 24.	All indirect.
13. *H8*, i. 2. 71.	
14. *A. & C.*, i. 4. 10.	
15. *Lucrece*, 1009–15.	
16. *Sonnet*, 94.	

* Direct references.
The rest indirect.

Chapter II, Part I

LAWS: DEAD OR OBSOLETE "MEASURE FOR MEASURE"

Proverbs xii. 10, is best seen in *Measure for Measure* which is mixture of law and divinity. It gives us an opportunity of judging whether Bacon fetched his law from Shakespeare or the other way about. They both noticed the resemblance between a gangrene of the law and a gangrene of the foot; and they both thought that a gangrenous or scarecrow law was a disease in a state "like to infection."

> "*Obsolete laws that are grown into disuse.*"
> (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 57.)

and

> "Decrees dead to infliction." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 28.)

are gangrenous things, and as a gangrenous foot, if not cut away, brings a gangrene to the more wholesome parts of the body which are fit to be retained in practice and execution; so, obsolete laws, if not cut away from the general body of the law, "*bring a gangrene, neglect, and habit of disobedience upon other wholesome laws, that are fit to be continued in practice and execution.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 65.)

> "*For as an express statute is not regularly abrogated by disuse, it happens that from a contempt of such as are obsolete, the others also lose part of their authority, whence follows that torture of Mezentius whereby the living laws are killed in the embraces of the dead ones.*"
> (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. 57.)

So, too, "the threatening twigs of birch" stuck "in their children's sight for terror, not to use" (*Meas.*, i. 3. 24) are gangrenous things; and, because they are not put in execution,

> "In time the rod
> Becomes more mocked than feared; so our decrees,
> Dead to infliction, to themselves are dead,
> And liberty plucks justice by the nose;

The baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart
Goes all decorum." (*Ib.*, i. 3. 26.)

"*As posteriores leges priores abrogant, so new judgements avoid the former. The records reverent things, but like scarecrows.*" (*Life* iv. p. 200.)

" We must not make a scarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape, till custom make it
Their perch and not their terror." (*Meas.*, ii. 1. 1.) ;

Otherwise we shall have

" Laws for all faults
But faults so countenanced, that the strong statutes
Stand like the forfeits in a barber's shop,
As much in mock as mark." (*Ib.*, v. 1. 321),
" And turn pre-ordinance and first decree
Into the law of children." (*J. Cæsar*, iii. 1. 38.)

Therefore "*above all things a gangrene of the law is to be avoided*," (*De Aug.*, viii, iii, 57), because the law being once gangrened is no longer respected.

The same is true of the body :—

" The service of the foot
Being once gangrened, is not then respected
For what before it was." (*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 305)

And if this foot be not cut off, the infection is apt to spread and the living parts to be killed in the embraces of the dead :

" This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rests sound ;
This let alone will all the rest confound." (*R2*, v. 3. 85.)

The same is true of the putrid flies and the sweet-smelling ointment :—

" These fester'd flies cut off, etc."

But this has been dealt with in the chapter relating to Ecclesiastes x. 1.

Gangrenous laws, scarecrow laws, "*Obsolete laws that are grown into disuse*," and " decrees dead to infliction " are one and the same ; so, when Shakespeare writes, " We must not make a scarecrow of the law " and Bacon says "*Above all things a gangrene of the law is to be prevented*" (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 57) they mean the same thing, and their

reasons are the same; namely, that they bring about a want of respect; such as we see in seditions and rebellions, where "*the rebels that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect*" (Bacon's *Hist., Henry VII*); but they are also "*like to infection;*" for as a gangrenous foot, if not cut off, doth mortify the more wholesome parts of the body; so, "*the cessation and abstinence to execute these unnecessary* (obsolete) *laws doth mortify the execution of such as are wholesome and most meet to be put in execution both for your Majesty's profit and the universal benefit of the realm*" (Bacon to Elizabeth, *Works* iii. p. 315, note.)

Why did laws become "drowsy and neglected," "*obsolete and out of use*"? The answer is that

"*There are some laws fit to be retained but their penalty too great*" (*Life*, vi. p. 65.)

"O just but severe law!" (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 41.)

"*And it is ever a rule that any over-great penalty* (*besides the acerbity of it*) *deads the execution of the law.*" (*Life* vi. p. 65); and this is why we read of

"Decrees dead to infliction" (i. 3. 27).

"*Obsolete laws that are grown into disuse.*" *De Aug.*, viii. iii. 57).

"*Penal laws*" . . . that "*have been sleepers of long*" (*Essay* 56).

"Laws . . . which for this fourteen* years we have let sleep." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 19.)

"The scarecrow law set 'up to fear the birds of prey' and allowed to 'keep one shape.'" (*Ib.*, ii. 1. 1.)

"The threatening twigs of birch" stuck "in their children's sight for terror, not to use." (*Ib.*, i. 3. 24.)

"All the enrolled penalties which have, like unscour'd armour, hung by the wall so long that nineteen zodiacs have gone round, and none of them been worn." (*Ib.*, i. 2. 170.)

"The drowsy and neglected act." (*Ib.*, i. 2. 174.)

These are all examples of gangrenous or scarecrow laws; and, as we have seen, their chief inconvenience is that they "*bring a gangrene, neglect and habit of disobedience upon*

* First Folio; and "let slip" should obviously be "let sleep."

other wholesome laws," and cause them to "*lose part of their authority,*" and "*the lessening of authority in what degree soever must needs increase disobedience*" (*Life*, iii. p. 380); and because of this disobedience it comes about that

"In time the rod becomes more mock'd than feared."
(*Meas.*, i. 3. 26.)

"Liberty plucks justice by the nose." (*Ib.*, i. 3. 29.)

"The birds of prey make the scarecrow law "their perch, and not their terror." (*Ib.*, ii. 1. 2.)

"The strong statutes stand, like the forfeits in a barber's shop, as much in mock as mark." (*Ib.*, v. 1. 322.)

And "pre-ordinance and first decree" are turned "into the law of children." (*J. Cæsar*, iii. 1. 38.)

"The baby beats the nurse and quite athwart goes all decorum." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 30).

In this matter scarecrow laws Bacon and Shakespeare have behind them the solid backing of Solomon, who could not abide a scarecrow law; for, says he, "He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes" (Prov. xiii. 24). From this we may infer that Solomon would not dream of binding up the threatening twigs of birch, only to stick it in the children's sight for terror, not to use.

During the course of their legal training, Bacon and "Shakespeare" noticed that in the time of Henry VII there were a number of obsolete penal laws that had fallen into disuse, but had not been repealed; and because they had not been regularly abrogated by disuse, we may say, "these laws have not been dead though they have slept;" and for this same reason Angelo was justified in saying to Isabel "The law hath not been dead though it hath slept" (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 90); and because these laws were only "*sleepers*" (*Ess.* 56) it was possible to awake them again, and this was what actually happened:—

"*About this time begin to be discovered in the king that disposition which afterwards, nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times; which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeiture upon penal laws.*"
(*Works*, vi. p. 155).

" The King had gotten for his purpose two instruments, Empsom and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers." (*Ib.*, p. 217).

" Their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none great or small ; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete ; but raked over all old and new statutes ; though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour," (*Works*, vi. p. 219) yet they followed close the rigour of the statute to make Sir William Capel and others examples.

And just as Empsom and Dudley raked over all old statutes which had slept for many years, so Angelo " awakes me all the enrolled penalties " which had slept for nineteen zodiacs, and " hath pick'd out an act " (" a drowsy and neglected act ") " under whose heavy sense your brother's life falls into forfeit " (*Meas.*, i. 4. 64) ; and, like Empsom and Dudley, he cared not " *whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete* " and " *though many of them were made with intention rather of terror* " (" for terror not to use "—*Meas.*, i. 3. 26) " *than of rigour* " yet he " follows close the rigour of the statute to make him (Claudio) an example " (i. 4. 67).

We see then that what happened in the bad times of Henry VII is made to happen again in *Measure for Measure.*

Bacon and " Shakespeare " were anxious to get rid of all obsolete and ensnaring penal laws, so that the outrageous things that happened in the time of Henry VII (which Bacon says " were fitter to be buried than repeated ") might never come about again ; so Bacon wrote to Elizabeth and afterwards to James, and many times brought the matter before Parliament ; and " Shakespeare " wrote *Measure for Measure.*

First let us anatomize Bacon.

In 1595 he wrote : " *Look into the state of your laws and justice of your land ; purge out multiplicity of laws, clear the incertainty of them, REPEAL those that are snaring, and press the execution of those that are wholesome and necessary* " (*Life*, i. p. 339).

What he wrote to Elizabeth in the following year is recorded above.

In 1601 he spoke "*for REPEALING of superfluous laws*" (*Life*, iii. p. 19). And again in 1614 amongst the bills to be offered to parliament he puts down "*An act giving authority to certain commissioners to review the state of the penal laws, to the end that such as are obsolete and snaring may be REPEALED.*" (*Life*, v. p. 15.)

"*In Athens they had sexviri* (*as Aeschines observeth*) *which were standing commissioners, who did watch to discern what laws waxed unproper for the time, and what new law did in any branch cross a former law, and so ex officio propounded their REPEAL.*" (*Life*, vii. p. 361.)

Last but not least he wrote to King James: "*There are a number of ensnaring penal laws, which lie upon the subject; and if in bad times they should be AWAKED and put in execution, would grind them to powder.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 65.)

"This new governor
AWAKES me all the enrolled penalties
Which have, like unscour'd armour, hung by the wall
So long that nineteen zodiacs have gone round
And none of them been worn; and, for a name,
Now puts the drowsy and neglected act
Freshly on me." (*Meas.*, i. 2. 169).

Now let us anatomize "Shakespeare."

He wrote a play which concerns itself with the science and art of "*the more public part of government, which is laws*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 49). And in this play he teaches us at least twelve different lessons; but his main object was to show to the world what mischief and injustice may ensue,

(1) When judges are given too much discretion.
(2) When "*that primary dignity of the law, certainty,*" is not preserved.
(3) But, above all, what gross injustice may come about from neglecting to repeal *obsolete and ensnaring penal laws.*

Bacon begins his discourse upon government with the simple words "*Concerning government*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 48); but the play begins thus:

" Escalus.
" My lord.
" Of government the properties to unfold."

Because the duke thought, as Bacon did, that certain penal laws (such as that which condemned Claudio to death) were, beyond all reason, severe ; he allowed them to fall into disuse and to sleep for fourteen years :—

" We have strict statutes and most biting laws . . .
. . . Which for this fourteen years we have let sleep."
(*Meas.*, i. 3. 19.)

And again, because he thought, as Bacon did, that " *judges . . . especially in cases of laws penal, ought to have a care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour* " (*Ess.* 56) he retained them on the statute book, " *like scarecrows*," merely to intimidate the people, just " as fond fathers having bound up the threatening twigs of birch, only to stick it in their children's sight for terror, not to use." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 23.)

But he found that the people of Vienna got out of hand ; and so did the children ; so, according to the custom of the Athenians, and Bacon's recommendation, he appoints legal commissioners to " *take a review of these contrarieties in law*," (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 55). Escalus, a common law judge, and Angelo, a judge of the chancery court, where mercy is, or should be, mixed with justice.

The first commissioner, Escalus, is chosen because he knows the nature of the people—a qualification which Bacon says such men ought to possess :—

" *Unto princes and states, and especially towards wise senates and councils, the NATURES and DISPOSITIONS of the people . . . ought to be . . . in great part clear and transparent.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23, 48.)

' The NATURE of our people,
Our city's institutions, and the terms
For common justice, you're as pregnant in,
As art and practice hath enriched any
That we remember.' (*Meas.*, i. 1. 10.)

The duke is also given to understand that Escalus is a master of the science of " *the more public part of govern-*

ment, which is laws" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 49), and therefore needs no instruction regarding his office; so he passes over this part in silence as Bacon did while writing to King James upon the same subject,—"*Considering that I write to a king that is a master of this SCIENCE, and is so well assisted, I think it decent to pass over this part in silence.*"

(*Adv.*, ii. 23. 48.)

> "Since I am put to know that your own SCIENCE
> Exceeds, in that, the lists of all advice
> My strength can give you: then no more remains,
> But that to your sufficiency . . .
> . . . as your worth is able,
> And let them work." (i. 1. 5.)

After the word "sufficiency" there is something omitted: something which the duke passes over in silence as "*one that knew how to hold his peace*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 48.) But "*judges ought to remember that their office is . . . to interpret laws*" (*Essay* 56), and this is what Escalus has to do, to the best of his ability (as his worth is able), "and let them work"; i.e. see they be put in execution, and not allowed to become mere "scarecrows" or "dead to infliction"; for, "*above all things a gangrene in the laws is to be avoided*" (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 57).

The other commissioner, Angelo; a 'learned,' 'wise' and 'austere' man, is withdrawn from a life of contemplation on the ground that

"*contemplation is a dream,*" (*Life* i. p. 381),

and

"*to think well is little better than to dream well*"

(*Antitheta*);

and as

"*good thoughts, though God accept them, are little better than good dreams except they be put in act*" (*Essay* xi),

"Be great in act as you have been in thought"

(*K. John*, v. 1. 45);

"For if our virtues did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike as if we had them not"(*Meas.*, i. 1. 34);

"*For what is your virtue if you show it not?*"

(*Life*, i. p. 333.)

"Heaven doth with us as we with torches do, not light them for themselves." (*Meas.*, i. 1. 33).

"Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house." (Matt. v. 15).

"How far that little candle throws its beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world."
(*M. of V.*, v. 1. 90.)

And as "*good thoughts are little better than good dreams except they be put in act, and that cannot be without POWER and PLACE.*" (*Essay* xi);

"I have delivered to lord Angelo . . . my absolute POWER and PLACE, here in Vienna."
(*Meas.*, i. 3. 11);

"that he may let his light so shine before men that they may see his good works" (Matt. v. 16);

"For spirits are not finely touched but to fine issues"
(*Meas.*, i. 1. 36.)

"*The king's most excellent majesty . . . hath thought fit not to leave you these talents to be employed upon yourself only, but to call you to serve himself and his people.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 201.)

"Thyself and thy belongings
Are not thine own so proper, as to waste
Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee."
(*Meas.*, i. 1. 30.)

"Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To fust in us unused"
(*Ham.*, iv. 4. 36.)

And:

"*I do think every man in his particular bound to help the commonwealth the best he may*" (*Life*, iii. p. 19.)

And as man is not made for himself only; so, "*everything in nature seems not made for itself, but for man*" . . . "*for all things are made subservient to man, and he receives use and benefit from them all*" (Bacon's *Prometheus*); thus "nature . . . determines herself the glory of a creditor, both thanks and use" (*Meas.*, i. 1. 37–41).

The reason, then, for appointing Angelo as chief commissioner was, that he should not hide his talents in a napkin, nor his light under a bushel. But there was another reason. The duke was a student of Tacitus, and remembered his opinions (1) "*That the raising of the fortune seldom mendeth the disposition,*" and (2) "*that Vespasian alone of the emperors changed for the better*" (after coming to power) (*Adv.*, ii. 22. 5); so he puts Angelo in power to test these opinions, and "to practise his judgment with the DISPOSITION of NATURES"* (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 165); i.e. to see if the judge's robe changes Angelo's purpose, or, "not changing heart with habit" (*Ib.*, v. 1. 389) he remains with the same man:—

"Hence shall we see
If power change purpose what our seemers be"†
(*Ib.*, i. 3. 54.)

The result of the test spoken of above, confirms the opinion of Tacitus; for Angelo's first act after coming to power is one of cruelty. He awakes a law that had slept for fourteen years, and which had, therefore, come to have an uncertain sense; and, under it, condemns Claudio to death without any warning whatever. Now, '*certainty is so essential to a law, that a law without it cannot be just; for if the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So, if a law has an uncertain sense who shall obey it? A law, therefore, ought to give warning before it strikes.*' (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 8.)

Bacon continued:—

"*And it is a true maxim, that the best law leaves least to the breast of the judge; which is effected by certainty.*"
(*Ib.*)

And it is interesting to note that Angelo leaves nothing to his own breast when he says to Isabel:

"It is the law not I condemns your brother."
(*Meas.*, ii. 2. 80.)

* cf. "disposition of natures" with "natures and dispositions of the people" above.

† cf. "Sure this robe of mine does change my disposition" (*W. Tale*, iv. 4. 135); and the "power" and the "purpose" are not far away.

As to popularity :—

" *I wish you to take heed of popularity.*" *Life*, vi. p. 211).

" I love the people,
But do not like to stage me to their eyes :
Though it do well, I do not relish well
Their loud applause and Aves vehement
Nor do I think the man of safe discretion
That does affect it " (*Meas.*, i. 1. 68) ;

for

" *A popular judge is a deformed thing, and plaudites are fitter for players than for magistrates. Do good to the people, love them, and give them justice.*"
Life, vi. p. 211.)

Bacon is here speaking to judges ; and the man who, in *Measure for Measure*, says " I love the people " is again one judge speaking to another judge ; true, he does not tell him to love the people, but has already given him this injunction :—

" Mortality and mercy in Vienna
Live in thy tongue and heart." (i. 1. 45.)

And although

" We have strict statutes and most biting laws,
The needful bits and curbs to HEADSTRONG steeds."
(i. 3. 19) ;

" *Nevertheless I would not have you HEADSTRONG, but heartstrong.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 201.)

" *I pass from the general duties of a judge . . . to the things that CONCERN the proprieties of your PLACE.*"
(*Life*, vii. p. 104.)

Although the duke thinks it unnecessary to give Escalus and Angelo advice touching the execution of their place, the first thing they do, when the duke takes his leave of them, is to follow Bacon's directions in his essay *Of Great Place* :—

" *Embrace and invite helps and advices TOUCHING the execution of thy PLACE.*"

Escalus :

" It CONCERNS me
To look into the bottom of my PLACE :

A power I have, but of what strength and nature
I am not yet instructed." (i. 1. 79.)

Angelo:

" 'Tis so with me. Let us withdraw together
And we may soon our satisfaction have
TOUCHING that point."

The author of the play, therefore, makes these two men take counsel together, that they may become "*Negotiis pares . . . and execute their places with sufficiency.*" (*Essay*, 55.)

As to how a judge is to become equal to his business and execute his place with sufficiency is another lesson taught by Bacon and by the author of *Measure for Measure;* and it is that, before a judge is fit to WEIGH the offences of other people he must first know and judge himself; for, says Bacon, "*that oracle know thyself is not only a rule of universal wisdom, but has also a principal place in politics*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.); and these are the words of the duke who "contended especially to know himself" (*Meas.*, iii. 2. 246);

" He who the sword of heaven will bear
Should be as holy as severe;
Pattern in himself to know." (*Ib.*, iii. 2. 275.)
" More nor less to others paying
Than by self offences WEIGHING." (*Ib.*, iii. 2. 279.)

So sure was the duke that other judges would follow this same precept that when Isabel reported Angelo's offence, which was similar to Claudio's, his reply was:

" If he had so offended,
He would have WEIGHED thy brother with himself
And not have cut him off." (*Ib.*, v. 1. 110);

For

" When vice makes mercy, mercy's so extended,
That for the fault's love is the offender friended."
(*Ib.*, iv. 2. 116).

"*And St. James excellently observes of mankind, that 'he who views his face in a glass, instantly forgets what manner of man he was.' Whence we had need be often looking.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.)

Isabel and Escalus were of the same opinion, and made frequent attempts to induce Angelo to behold his natural face in a glass.

Isabel. "Go to your bosom;
Knock there, and ask your heart what it doth know
That's like my brother's fault." (ii. 2. 136.)

Escalus. "Whether you had not sometimes in your life." (ii. 1. 14.)

Isabel. "If he had been as you, and you as he,
You would have slipped like him; but he, like you,
Would not have been so stern." (ii. 2. 64.)

Isabel. "How would you be,
If He, which is the top of judgment, should
But judge you as you are? Oh! think on that,
And mercy then will breathe within your lips,
Like man new made."* (ii. 2. 75.)

The mercy in the play is of two kinds, based upon the wisdom of Solomon; and the subject dealt with is immorality, which is another of those "*passions, which are indeed the sicknesses of the mind.*"

It is a disease in a state "*like to infection*" and often blasts men's lives; and

"In the morn and liquid dew of youth
Contagious blastments are most imminent."
(*Ham.*, i. 3. 42.)

These contagious blastments nearly brought Claudio to the block in *Measure for Measure;* and when his sister asked the judge to "show some pity," he used Bacon's argument against her; and as this argument comes in Bacon's explanation of Proverbs xii. 10, we must now examine it.

Proverbs xii. 10, is the fourteenth of Bacon's selected parables in the *De Augmentis* (viii. ii.); and, like his explanation of Ecclesiastes x. 1, it was not published

* "If, when you make your prayers God should be so obdurate as yourself,
How would it fare with your departed soul?" (2*H*6, iv. 8. 121.)

before the 13th of October 1623; therefore William of Stratford, who died in 1616, could never have seen it.

"*Antitheta,*" says Bacon, "*are theses argued pro et contra*" (*Adv.*, ii. 18. 8); and in his Essex Device he puts up a man to argue in favour of war, and another man to argue against it (*Life*, i. pp. 381–3); so, in *Measure for Measure*, the author puts forward Isabel to argue in favour of mercy, and Angelo to argue against it. Isabel stands "*pro sententia legis*" (for the intention of the law) as laid down by Bacon in those 23 lines of his *Essay of Judicature*, beginning with "*A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence,*" and ending with: "*and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.*"

Angelo stands "*pro verbis legis*" (for the letter of the law) as laid down by Bacon in his legal maxims (*De Aug.*, viii. iii.). Isabel's arguments are based upon the first part of Proverbs xii. 10, in which mercy is a virtue; and Angelo's are based upon the second part, in which mercy is a vice; and the following is Bacon's version of it:—

"*Justus miseretur animae jumenti sui; sed misericordiae impiorum crudeles.*" (A just man is merciful to the life of his beast; but the mercies of the wicked are cruel.)
(*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* xiv.)

As a just man is merciful to the life of his beast, so should princes and governors of states be merciful to their subjects, especially regarding those faults which all men by nature are liable to commit; and this is why the duke in *Measure for Measure*, who knew himself, could be merciful to others with similar tendencies, and why he instituted forced marriages instead of death for betrayal.

In his explanation of this parable Bacon says: "*Nature has endowed man with a noble and excellent principle of compassion which extends itself even to the brutes, which by DIVINE appointment are made subject to him.*"

"The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls
Are their males' subjects and at their controls:
Man, more DIVINE, the master of all these."
(*Errors*, ii. 1. 18).

"*Nay, the Turks, though a cruel and bloody nation, both in their descent and discipline*" ("Stubborn Turks and Tartars never trained to offices of tender courtesy"—*M. of V.*, iv. 1. 32) "*give alms to brutes and suffer them not to be tortured.*"

"*Whence this compassion has some resemblance to that of a prince towards his subjects.*"

"'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown."
(*M. of V.*, iv. 1. 188.)

"*. . . And it is certain that the noblest souls are most extensively merciful.*" (*Ib.*)

"Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge"
(*Titus*, i. 1. 118.)

"*A great soul, the noblest part of creation, is ever compassionate.*" (*Ib.*)

"Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Become them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 60.)

"No word like 'pardon' for kings' mouths so meet"
(*R2*, v. 3. 118.)

It is the kind of mercy that grieves neither heaven nor man:—

"Let him that is without sin first cast a stone."

Bacon. "*In causes of life and death judges ought (as far as the law permitteth)*" (*Essay*, 56.)

Isabel. ("Lawful mercy is nothing kin to foul redemption") (*Meas.*, ii. 4. 112.)

Bacon. "*. . . in justice to remember mercy*" (*Essay* 56).

Isabel. "Yes; I do think that you might pardon him,
And neither heaven nor man grieve at the mercy"
(*Meas.*, ii. 2. 50.)

Bacon. "*. . . and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person*" (*Essay* 56).

Isabel. "I have a brother is condemned to die:
I do beseech you, let it be his FAULT,
And not my brother." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 34.)

Bacon. "*Such is our inclination to clemency and moderation as we are willing rather to correct the FAULT than to deal with the persons whom it may concern.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 387.)

Angelo. "Condemn the FAULT and not the actor of it?" (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 37.)

Bacon. Yes; "*because the example is more than the man.*" (*Life*, v. p. 160.)

"*But lest this principle*" (which is the principle that Isabel is fighting for) "*might seem to include all kinds of compassion, Solomon wisely adds that 'the mercies of the wicked are cruel.' Such is the sparing to use the sword of justice upon wicked and guilty men*"; ("For sparing justice feeds iniquity"—*Lucrece*, 1687); "*for this kind of mercy is the greatest of all cruelties, as cruelty affects but particular persons* (such as the murderer or traitor), *whilst impunity lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* xiv.)

Isabel. "Yet show some pity."

Angelo. "I show it most of all when I show justice;
For then I pity those I do not know,
Which a dismissed offence would after gall,
And do him right that, answering one foul wrong,
Lives not to act another." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 100.)

If I harden my heart and show justice towards your brother (*the particular person*), and do him right that, answering one foul wrong, lives not to act another (i.e., if he be cut off with the sword of justice) why then I pity those I do not know, i.e., the innocent people which a dismissed offence (*impunity*) would after gall (by letting loose the whole army of evil doers upon them).

Isabel, while behaving like a Fury towards her brother, also makes use of Bacon's argument:—

"Thy sin's not accidental, but a trade.
Mercy" (*impunity*, or a dismissed offence) "to thee, would prove itself a bawd" (by letting loose the whole army of evil doers upon the innocent). (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 149.)

Observe how these arguments are repeated in *Richard II.*

York. " If thou do pardon whosoever pray,
More sins for this forgiveness prosper may.
This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rests sound ;
This let alone will all the rest confound "
(*R2*, v. 3. 83.)

If this fester'd joint (Rutland, the traitor, formerly known as Aumerle) be cut off with the sword of justice, the rest of the body politic remains sound. This let alone (*impunity*) will all the rest confound, by encouraging sedition, and letting loose the whole army of rebels.

Bolingbroke. " And thy abundant goodness shall excuse
This deadly blot in thy digressing son."
(*R2*, v. 3. 65.)
York. " So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd."

The virtue here alluded to is excusation, pardon and forgiveness ; dismissed offence, impunity ; and so it is in all the above. York's argument is therefore equivalent to Isabel's (Mercy to thee would prove itself a bawd), and Isabel's to Angelo's, and Angelo's to Bacon's ; and things that are equal to the same third are equal to one another.

But why this persistent attack upon mercy ? Clearly to enforce discipline ; for " *It is the part of discipline to punish the first buddings of all grave offences.*" (*De Aug.*, viii, iii. 41) ; because

" Those many had not dar'd to do that evil
If the first that did the edict infringe
Had answered for his deed." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 91.)

But does repentance count for nothing ?

Aumerle. " I do repent me." (*R2*, v. 3. 52.)

So in *Measure for Measure* (ii. 3. 29) :

Juliet. " I do confess it, and repent it, father."
Duke. " But lest you do repent
As that the sin hath brought you to this shame,
Which sorrow is always towards ourselves, not heaven,
Showing we would not spare heaven as we love it,
But as we stand in fear."

Compare *Richard II* (v. 3. 56) :—

" Fear, and not love, begets his penitence."

And although " *The worst tyranny is law upon the rack* " (*De Aug.*, vi. iii. Antitheta), and

" Pity is the virtue of the law
And none but tyrants use it cruelly."
(*Timon*, iii. 5. 8) ;

nevertheless " *he who shows mercy to his enemy denies it to himself* "—(*De Aug.*, vi. iii. Antitheta) ; therefore

" Forget to pity him, lest thy pity prove
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart."
(*R2*, v. 3. 57.)
" Ill mayst thou thrive if thou grant any grace ! "
(*Ib.*, v. 3. 99.)
" Let him be punish'd, sovereign, lest example
Breed, by his sufferance, more of such a kind."
(*H5*. ii. 2. 45.)
" Let the traitor die,
For sparing justice feeds iniquity." (*Lucrece*, 1687.)

Remember, too, that

" *Cruelty proceeding from DANGER is prudence* "
(*Exempla Antithetorum.*)
" He should have lived,
Save that his riotous youth, with DANGEROUS sense,
Might in the time to come have ta'en revenge."
(*Meas.*, iv. 4. 31) ;

and that

" *No virtue is so often delinquent as clemency.*"
(*Exempla Antithetorum*).
" Mercy is not itself that oft looks so ;
Pardon is still the nurse of second woe."
(*Meas.*, ii. 1. 298.)
" Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy."
(*Timon*, iii. 5. 3.)
" Mercy but murders, pardoning those that kill."
(*Romeo*, iii. 1. 202.)

(by letting loose an army of murderers upon the innocent) ;

" For we bid this be done,
When evil deeds have their permissive pass
And not the punishment." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 37.)

Turning to the Latin *De Augmentis* we find that Bacon's '*misericordia*' agrees well with Isabel's 'pity,' and his '*impunitas*' with Angelo's 'dismissed offence,' and York's 'let alone.' His '*clementia*' agrees well with Isabel's 'mercy,' and York's 'virtue,' which is also mercy, pardon and forgiveness. Bacon tells us what 'impunity' does do; Angelo what 'a dismissed offence' would do; Isabel, also, what 'mercy' would do; but the absolute echo of Bacon, as we have just seen, occurs in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Timon of Athens*, where we are told what mercy does.

From reading Proverbs xii. 10, Bacon concluded that mercy could be a virtue at one time and a vice at another; and so did the author of *Romeo and Juliet*:—

" Virtue itself turns vice being misapplied,
And vice sometimes by action dignified."
(*Romeo*, ii. 3. 21.)

This is easy to understand if we substitute 'mercy' for 'virtue' in the first line, and for 'vice' in the second; and then it will be seen that the first line applies to Julius Cæsar, and the second to Hector:—

" *Nothing is more popular than to forgive our enemies, through which virtue or cunning he* (Julius Cæsar) *lost his life.*" (Bacon's *Julius Cæsar.*)

As to the second line:—

Troilus. " Brother you have that vice of mercy in you.
Hector. " What vice is that good Troilus?
Troilus. " When many times the Grecian captive falls,
Even in the fan and wind of your fair sword,
You bid him rise and live.
Hector. " Oh! 'tis fair play." (*Troilus*, v. 3. 37.)

Cæsar's virtue (mercy) turns vice being misapplied, and Hector's vice (mercy) is by action dignified; and mercy is a vice because " *He who shows mercy to his enemy denies it to himself.*"

Therefore, says Troilus to Hector:

" For the love of all the gods,
Let's leave the hermit pity with our mothers."
(*Troilus*, v. 3. 46.)

So in *Richard II* :—

" Forget to pity him lest thy pity prove
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart."

For the same reason

" *Cruelty proceeding from danger is prudence.*"

As to the difference between Bolingbroke and York: it is but the difference between youth and old age.

" *If it were visible old age deforms the mind more than the body.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

" He is deformed, crooked, old and sere,
Ill-fac'd, worse bodied, shapeless everywhere;
Vicious, ungentle, foolish, blunt, unkind,
Stigmatical in making, worse in mind."
(*Errors*, iv. 2. 19.)

" *I remember when I was a young man, at Poitiers, in France, I conversed familiarly with a young Frenchman of great wit.*" (*Hist. Life and Death.*)
" I reasoned with a Frenchman yesterday."
(*M. of V.*, ii. 8. 27.)

" . . . *He used to inveigh against the manners of old men, and say that if their minds could be seen as well as their bodies, they would appear no less deformed.*" (*Ib.*)
" He is as disproportion'd in his manners as in his shape." (*Tempest*, v. i. 290.)
" As crooked in thy manners as thy shape! "
(*2H6*, v. 1. 158.)*

" Then, since heaven have shaped my body so,
Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it."
(*3H6*, v. 6. 79.)

" . . . *And further indulging his fancy, he argued that the defects of their minds had some parallel and correspondence with those of the body.* . . ." (*Ib.*)

* " What, is my Richard both in shape and mind Transform'd and weaken'd? " (*R2.* v. 1. 26.)

"As with age his body uglier grows, so his mind cankers." (*Tempest*, iv, 1, 191.)

"*. . . For the dryness of thy skin he would bring in impudence; and for the hardness of their bowels, unmercifulness.*" (*Ib.*)

"*A young man's bowels are soft.*" (*Ib.*)

And Hector, speaking of himself, says:

"There is no lady of more softer bowels."
(*Troilus*, ii, 2. 11.)

Now "*The bowels are expressive of charity.*"
(Bacon's *Prometheus*),

and "*A young man is full of bounty and mercy*"
(*Hist. Life and Death.*)

but "*Plautus maketh it a wonder to see an old man beneficent*"
(*Adv.*, ii. 22. 5.)

York was an old man and his bowels were hard; but Bolingbroke was a younger man and his bowels were softer; so, when Aumerle came to confess his sin and say "I do repent me," Bolingbroke was charitable enough to say "I pardon him as God shall pardon me" (*R2*, v. 3. 131); for "if we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins," and "*it is owing to justice*" (of this kind here on earth) "*that man to man is a god and not a wolf.*"
(*Antitheta.*)

Duchess of York to Bolingbroke:

"A god on earth thou art"
(*R2*, v. 3. 137.)

"Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods?
Draw near them then in being merciful"
(*Titus*, i. 1. 118.)

On the other hand,

"*To delight in blood one must be either a wild beast or a fury.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

"Her life was beast-like, and devoid of pity,
And, being so, shall have like want of pity"
(*Titus*, v. 3. 199.)

for "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

And "*If justice consists in doing to another what we would have done to ourselves, then mercy is justice.*"
(*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

"The very mercy of the law cries out
Most audible, even from his proper tongue,
'An Angelo for Claudio, death for death!'
. . . Like doth quit like, and measure still for measure"
(*Meas.*, v. 1. 412);

for "With what measure ye mete," etc.

It seems strange that mercy should cry out for the death of a man. If the duke had said "the very justice" instead of "the very mercy," we should have instantly agreed with him; but the duke's speech is ironical; he is referring Angelo to the kind of mercy he had handed out to Claudio when the circumstances were similar. When Angelo was yet "the voice of the recorded law" (ii. 4. 61) two persons tried to persuade him to show mercy to Claudio. To Escalus he replies, "When I, that censure him, do so offend, let mine own judgment pattern out my death" (ii, 1. 30), as much as to say, "I am willing, in similar circumstances, that others should do to me as I have done to Claudio"; and these are the circumstances in which Bacon says, "*Mercy is justice*"; and the duke, while pronouncing sentence, takes him at his word.

Further, when Isabel appeals for pity (ii, 2. 99), Angelo uses Bacon's argument against her, and teaches her that other kind of mercy spoken of by Solomon, which is not towards the criminal, but towards the innocent people "which a dismissed offence would after gall"; showing that the author had in mind the principle "*Salus populi est suprema lex*," just as Bacon had while writing his explanation of "*the mercies of the wicked are cruel*"; namely, that "*the sparing to use the sword of justice . . . lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent.*" When, therefore, the duke says, "The very mercy of the law cries out . . . even from his proper tongue," he is referring Angelo to his own argument against Isabel's appeal for mercy, and assuming that he would have others say to him as he had said to her:

" I show it most of all when I show justice "
(*Meas.*, ii. 2. 100.)

The duke (speaking of Angelo) has already said, " If his own life answer the straitness of his proceeding, it shall become him well; wherein if he chance to fail, he hath sentenced himself " (iii. 2. 269); " for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself " (Romans, ii. 1). Therefore, " as he adjudg'd your brother, being (himself) criminal . . . the very mercy of the law cries out . . . death for death ! " " For he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy." (James ii. 13):

" How shalt thou hope for mercy rendering none ? "
(*Merchant*, iv. 1. 88.)

" The mercy that was quick in us but late,
By your own counsel is suppress'd and kill'd."
(*H5*, ii. 2. 78.)

" You must not dare, for shame, to talk of mercy ;
For your own reasons turn into your bosoms,
Like dogs upon their masters." (*Ib.*, ii. 2. 81.)

These repetitions in the plays are instructive. In *Henry V* (ii. 2. 45), Scroop argues against mercy as Angelo does in *Measure for Measure*, and as York does in *Richard II*.

On the other hand we find Bolingbroke, Isabel and Henry V all arguing in favour of mercy.

Scroop. " Let him be punish'd, sovereign, lest example
Breed, by his sufferance, more of such a kind."
(*H5*, ii. 2. 45.)

Henry. " O, let us yet be merciful . . .
If little faults, proceeding on distemper,
Shall not be wink'd at, how shall we stretch our eye
When capital crimes, chew'd, swallow'd and digested,
Appear before us." (*H5*, ii. 2. 47 and 54.)

cf. " *Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.*" (*Essay* 50.)

But to return to *Measure for Measure*.
Because " Mercy triumphs over judgment " (James ii.

13), and desires not the death of a sinner; and because the duke, "who knew himself" (iii. 2. 247), was a merciful man, we see no bloodshed in the play: even Ragozine dies before mutilation (iv. 3. 75).

This is brought about by a process of deception:

"Craft against vice I must apply" (iii. 2. 291).

The duke, as it were, shuffles the cards, both queens and knaves, and saves Isabel from dishonour and Claudio from death; and the saving of Claudio leads to the saving of Angelo. All this is due "to the love I have of doing good" (iii. 1. 203); "*I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men*" (*Life*, vii. p. 230).

Nevertheless we have "Measure still for Measure"; namely, exposure to the world, and loss of reputation, which Bacon says is "*beyond recovery*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii), and Shakespeare says is "past all surgery" (*Oth.*, ii. 3. 260).

Measure for Measure is "*Commutative justice wherein equity requires that equal portions be given to unequal persons; but if equals be added to unequals the wholes will be unequal*" (*De Aug.*, iii. i); therefore the punishment of Claudio will be unequal to that of Angelo; for "*the great downfall of so great persons carrieth in itself a heavy punishment*" (*Life*, v. p. 277), and so we come round full circle from Bacon's Proverbs xii, 10, to his Ecclesiastes x. 1, in which he says:

> "*The condition of men eminent for virtue is, as this parable well observes, exceeding hard and miserable, because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked*"; because "the little foolery that wise men have makes a great show." (*As You*, i. 2. 96). And "*as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye*" (*De Aug.*, viii, ii, *parabola* xi); so "the more fair and crystal is the sky the uglier seem the clouds that in it fly" (*R2*, i. 1. 41), "*which in a duller stone*" (or a duller sky) "*would scarcely be noticed; so in men of eminent virtue their smallest faults (or defects) are readily seen, talked of, and severely censured*" (Bacon's *Explanation of Eccles. x.* 1).

" These men
carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect . . .
. . . Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault." (*Ham.*, i. 4. 30),

even as the sweet-smelling ointment takes corruption from putrid flies; " *whereas in ordinary men they* (these faults or defects) *would either be entirely unnoticed or readily excused.*"(Bacon's *Eccles. x.* 1), because

" Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
As foolery in the wise." (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 75.)

Chapter II, Part II

Some few pages above the following statement was made: " Angelo stands *pro verbis legis* (for the letter of the law) as laid down by Bacon in his legal aphorisms (*De Aug.*, viii. iii)." We will now draw upon these aphorisms to make good that statement.

Within the space of seven lines in his third chapter of the eighth book we have the Latin equivalents of the words " dead," " awake," and " sleep " applied to laws.

From aphorism 57 :—

" *Living laws killed in the embraces of the dead ones.*"

From aphorism 58 :—

" *Although, as is well said, nobody should be wiser than the laws* (*Aristotle, Rhet.* i. 15. 12) *yet this should be understood of laws when they are awake and not when they sleep.*"

And within the space of four lines in *Measure for Measure* we have " dead," " awake " and " it hath slept " :—

(A.) " The law hath not been dead though it hath slept
. . . now 'tis awake." (ii. 2. 90.)

To find " it hath slept " in Bacon's work we must turn to *Life*, v. p. 124 :—

" *I see a fair deed . . . and I see some probable reason why it hath slept.*"

And to find "sleep" in *Measure for Measure* we must turn to i. 3. 19:—

"Strict statutes and most biting laws,
. . . Which for this fourteen year we have let sleep."

From aphorism 46:—

"As that law is the best which leaves least to the discretion of the judge, so is that judge the best who leaves least to himself." (*De Aug.*, viii, iii. and *Aristotle, Rhet.* i. 1.)

Angelo to Isabel:

(B.) "It is the law not I condemns your brother."

In this reply Angelo leaves nothing to his own breast. From aphorism 39:—

"Nor should a man lose his life without first knowing that he had forfeited it."

Angelo to Isabel:

(C.) "Your brother is a forfeit of the law."

Even the frivolous Lucio says: "He (Angelo) hath pick'd out an act under whose heavy sense your brother's life fall into forfeit." (*Ib.*, i. 4, 64.)

It will be noticed that Angelo's three replies to Isabel (A, B and C) all contain the word "law," and yet Isabel never once pleaded law to save her brother; she even admits:

"My brother had but justice
In that he did the thing for which he died."
(*Meas.*, v. 1, 453.)

Why then did Angelo make these statements to Isabel? Surely to show her that his judgment was contained within the compass of the law; for says Bacon, *"The judge as long as his judgment was contained within the compass of the law was excused; the subject knew by what law he was to govern himself, and his actions; nothing was left to the judge's discretion* (*Life*, iii. pp. 331–2)*; and where it was required long since by a bill in parliament to have somewhat left to the judge to allow or dislike in a particular case which should be made arbitrary by the said bill, it was rejected, and upon this reason, that men were better be subject to a known*

inconvenience than to an unknown discretion (*Ib.*); and Shakespeare's reason for objecting to confer upon judges too much discretion was, that we should never be rid of those

> " perilous mouths,
> That bear in them one and the self-same tongue,
> Either of condemnation or approof;
> Bidding the law make court'sy to their will "
> (*Meas.*, ii. 4. 172);

for a judge who will bid the law make courtesy to his will, will also " *bend the laws to policy* " (*Works* vii. p. 678). There is not much difference between bending and courtesying, and in each case it makes the judge " *a legislator and to have all things dependent upon his will* " (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. aphorism 44).

We have seen that the duke thought as Bacon did that certain ensnaring penal laws (such as that which condemned Claudio to death) were, beyond all reason, severe. Why then did he not repeal this law while he was the supreme equity judge: the man of " absolute power and place here in Vienna "? And why, when he delivered over to Angelo this absolute power and place, did he say to him,

> " Your scope is as mine own
> So to enforce or qualify the laws
> As your soul seems good ";

thereby giving him unlimited discretion, and thus making it impossible to preserve " *that primary dignity of the law, certainty* "? (Aphorism 8); for " *certainty is so essential to a law, that a law without it cannot be just.*" (*Ib.*)

The answer is that the legal part of *Measure for Measure* could not have been written, and the author of the play could not have demonstrated to the world what was as dear to his heart as it was to Bacon's; namely, the gross injustice which in bad times he thought likely to ensue from neglecting the repeal of such ensnaring penal laws—injustice which actually did ensue, as Bacon tells us, in the bad times of Henry VII, and which is also made to recur in Vienna during the reign of Angelo, the corrupt deputy.

While Isabel preached all gospel and no law to Angelo, he preached all law and no gospel to her in reply; and, as

laws are stronger than precepts, Isabel is easily defeated, and is forced to change her tactics and to ask for pity. This follows a question and statement by Isabel, and Angelo's remarkable ten-line reply, which I now record in full because it contains no less than eight reminders of Bacon.

Isabel.

" Good my lord, bethink you ;
Who is it that hath died for this offence ?
There's many have committed it."

Angelo.

" The law hath not been dead, though it hath slept :
Those many had not dared to do that evil,
If the first that did the edict infringe
Had answered for his deed : now 'tis awake,
Takes note of what is done ; and, like a prophet
Looks in a glass, that shows what future evils,
Either new, or by remissness new-conceived,
And so in progress to be hatch'd and born,
Are now to have no successive degrees,
But, ere they live, to end." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 90.)

We have already called upon two of Bacon's legal aphorisms and a letter to King James to find " dead," " awake " and " it hath slept " applied to laws. Now turn to aphorism 41 :—

(*A.*) " *It is the part of discipline to punish the first buddings of all grave offences.*"

(B.) " Those many had not dar'd to do that evil,
If the first that did the edict infringe
Had answered for his deed."

" B " is a reason for " A " and so reminds us of Bacon. Bacon continued :—

" *And it is part of clemency to punish the middle or intermediate acts to prevent their ends from being accomplished.*" (*Ib.*)

Angelo.

" Now 'tis awake . . . and . . . shows what future evils . . . are now to have no successive degrees, but, ere they live, to end."

If these evils are to have no successive degrees their ends cannot be accomplished.

From aphorism 10 :—

> "*The narrowness of human wisdom cannot foresee all the cases that time may produce. Whence new cases, and cases omitted* ('Either new, or by remissness new-conceived'—Angelo's speech) *often present themselves.*"

The income tax law in recent times provides an excellent example of the remissness or neglect of the law to prescribe present remedies against future evasions, and this neglect or omission is the cause why new and evil conceptions arise in the minds of people by which they hope to "run by the hideous law, like mice by lions." (*Meas.*, i. 4. 64.)

And what are successive degrees? First, the conception,—

"The strong and swelling evil of my conception" (ii. 4. 7); next, the progress of its being hatch'd and born" (ii. 2. 97), and finally the putting in act of the bad intention.

We cannot punish a conception because we are not aware of it. We must, therefore, await the progress of its being "hatch'd and born" before we can, as it were, strangle it at birth, and prevent the end from being accomplished; in other words, to prevent it from "having successive degrees." Angelo's evil conception could not be dealt with until he communicated his intention to Isabel; then, and then only could care be taken that

> "his act did not o'ertake his bad intent."
>
> (*Meas.*, v. 1. 456);

and, as regards Isabel, it was so.

Not only does Shakespeare agree with Bacon regarding the punishment of the first overtures and intermediate parts of grave offences, but he tells us that those who think otherwise are fools :—

> "Fools do those villains pity who are punished
> Ere they have done their mischief."
>
> (*Lear*, iv. 2. 54.)

In strict law we do not punish before the actual offence

is committed; but, in such a case as the Gunpowder plot, who would await the final act?

> "*The Star-Chamber discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes: forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated.*"
> (*Works*, vi. p. 85; *Hist. Hen. VII.*)

The same is expressed in Angelo's speech.
Bacon continued:—

> "*But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance of headship of great persons.*"

And this seems to be what Shakespeare had in mind when he wrote:

> "France spreads his banners in our noiseless land,
> With plumed helm thy slayer begins threats,
> Whilst thou, a moral fool, sitt'st still";
> (*Lear*, iv. 2, 56–Q2);

whereas "*the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings*" (*Works*, vi. p. 80); for "*nipping them in the bud is fuller of clemency*" (*Life*, iv. p. 408); and, as was stated above, "*It is the part of clemency to punish the middle acts and prevent their ends from being accomplished.*"

We now come to the seventh reminder of Bacon:—

> "New-conceived,
> And so in progress to be hatch'd and born."

"Born" applies to animals and "hatch'd" to birds; and between the conception and the hatching of the egg some time must elapse; and this is what interested Bacon, who says, "*For birds there is double inquiry: the distance between the treading or coupling and the laying of the egg; and again between the egg laid, and the DISCLOSING or HATCHING*" (*Sylva Sylvarum*, 759).
While Hamlet's "melancholy sat on brood" his uncle said,

" There's something in his soul,
O'er which his melancholy sits on brood ;
And I do doubt the HATCH and the DISCLOSE
Will be some danger." (*Ham.*, iii. 1. 172.)

Again, " *It is reported by the ancients, that the ostrich layeth her eggs under sand, where the heat of the sun DISCLOSETH them* " (*Sylva Sylvarum*, 856).

" Anon, as patient as the female dove,
When that her golden couplets are DISCLOSED,
His silence will sit drooping." (*Ham.*, v. 1. 309.)

When two or more words or phrases occur close together in the writings of Bacon and Shakespeare, they have more effect on the mind of a reader than when they occur apart ; so when " *golden sleep* " and " *uprouse* " were found close together in Bacon's note book (*Promus*—1207 and 1215), and " golden sleep " and " uprous'd " within two lines of each other in *Romeo*, the wonder was which borrowed from the other ? And when " *twenty echoes* " and " *choir of echoes* " were found close together in Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, and within a few lines of each other in *Venus and Adonis* men wondered again which borrowed from the other. Fifteen years after Bacon discovered his twenty echoes, *Venus and Adonis* was published (1593), but Bacon did not record his discovery before 1626, in *Sylva Sylvarum*. So again when we find " *disclosing or hatching* " in *Sylva Sylvarum*, and the " hatch and the disclose " in *Hamlet ;* so with " Time and truth " ; so with " *modus*," " *triplex*," " *primo*," " *secundo*," " *tertio*," in the *De Augmentis* viii. ii), and " primo," " secundo," " tertio," " triplex," " measure," in *Twelfth Night* (v. 1).

But when identities of thought and expression are found close together in one man's writing and far apart in another's they do not affect us to the same extent, e.g.,

" *It is one method to begin swimming with bladders, which keep you up, and another to begin dancing with heavy shoes, which weigh you down.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iv.)

" You have dancing shoes
With nimble soles : I have a soul of lead
So stakes me to the ground I cannot move."
(*Romeo*, i. 4. 14.)

Some time elapsed between the production of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry VIII*, where we find:

"Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders."
(iv. 2. 359.)

The eighth reminder of Bacon is the "prophet" who "looks in a glass that shows what future evils," etc. Bacon:

> "*If we could obtain a magic glass wherein we might view all the enmities and all the hostile designs that are at work against us.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* iv.)

We still have prophets with their magic glasses to tell us what evils are to come upon us to-morrow or the next day.

Let us now review Angelo's ten line speech. The first line informs Isabel that his judgment is *contained within the compass of the law;* he then pauses to answer her statement, and to say that those many had not dar'd to do that evil if the first that did the edict infringe had answered for his deed; that is, if Bacon's advice had been followed; namely, *to punish the first buddings of all grave offences;* then, returning to the law, he says, "now 'tis awake"; for I, "the voice of the recorded law" (ii. 4. 61) shall take care in future *to punish the intermediate acts of such offences* (as Bacon directs) so that they shall have no successive degrees; and no matter how narrow human prudence may have been in the past, I shall extend that prudence to include remedies against future evasions; i.e., evils, either new, or (owing to remissness on the part of the law to provide remedies against them) newly conceived by the people in their efforts to "run by the law."

From aphorism 40:—

> "*And let there be, besides penalty, a note of infamy or punishment by way of admonishing others, and chastising delinquents, as it were, by putting them to the blush with shame and scandal.*"

Claudio:

"Fellow, why dost thou show me thus to the world?"
(*Meas.*, i. 2. 120.)

Provost :

" I do it not in evil disposition,
But from Lord Angelo by special charge."

Claudio has already been censured and condemned to death ; so that this exposure to the world on his way to prison is something over and above the penalty ; and appears to represent that " note of infamy by way of admonishing others," recommended by Bacon in his 40th aphorism.

When, therefore, Angelo is convicted of an offence, similar to that for which he has condemned Claudio, the duke has to decide whether :

1. " *To save him from the stage and public ignominy.*" (*Life*, v. p. 276.)
2. " *To save the lands from forfeiture and the blood from corruption.*" (*Ib.*)
3. " *To save the blood, not from corrupting, but from spilling.*" (*Ib.*)

As Angelo had exposed Claudio to the world on his way to prison, the duke, true to his belief in Measure for Measure, cannot " *save him from the stage and public ignominy.*"

And as, by death, Claudio is unloaded of all he possessed, the duke cannot " *save the lands from forfeiture,*"

" For his possessions . . . by confiscation they are ours."
(v. 1. 428.)

Neither can he " *save the blood from spilling,*" because

" Friend or brother,
He forfeits his own blood that spills another."
(*Timon*, iii. 5. 88.)

And because Angelo had given special order that Claudio should be executed with unseemly haste,

" We do condemn thee to the very block
Where Claudio stoop'd to death, and with like haste."
(v. 1. 420.)

Thus we see that the ensnaring penal law with which Angelo ensnared Claudio, in the end entrapped himself ;

making good Bacon's maxim, "*The more laws we make the more snares we lay to entrap ourselves.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 19.)

"I told ye all
When we first put this dangerous stone a-rolling
'Twould fall upon ourselves." (*H8*, v. 3. 103.)

From aphorism 35 :—

"*Courts of equity should have power as well to abate the rigour of the law as to supply its defects.*"

Instead of using his power to abate the rigour of the law, Angelo prefers to play the tyrant. When his proclamation was sent forth, "*it looked extremely back, which is against all justice.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 285.) Juliet was "very near her hour" (ii. 2. 15); and as our gestation period is roughly nine months, it looked back nearly as far as was possible; nine months all but this near hour.

"*First, for the ordinance which his Majesty may establish herein, I wish it may not look back upon any offence past; for that strikes before it warns*" (*Life*, iv. p. 397); *and in our proceeding with the persons, first to warn before we punish.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 387.)

Now the very essence of Claudio's complaint is that not only does this new governor "awake me all the enroll'd penalties," etc., but, "for a name, now puts the drowsy and neglected act freshly on me," which clearly means without warning.

However, until Angelo fell in love with Isabel he never once departed from the laws of Aristotle and of Bacon; so that no man could find fault with him except on the ground of tyranny and cruelty.

After defeating Isabel on points of law, she in turn defeats him; where he says, "This virtuous maid subdues me quite." (ii. 2. 185.)
Up till now he fancied himself immune from the instincts of ordinary men :

"Ever till now
When men were fond, I smil'd and wonder'd how."
(Ib., 186.)

But, as Bacon says, the greatest virtue is tried in action;

and this brings us to those portions of Bacon's *Essay of Love*, which were not published before 1625.

With time and opportunity Angelo falls like some other eminent men ; and thus we see that " the dribbling dart of love can pierce a complete bosom," (*Meas.*, i. 3. 2) ; or, as Bacon says, " *the mad degree of love can find entrance into a heart well fortified if watch be not kept.*" (*Essay* x.) Angelo falls a victim to Isabel much in the same way that Appius Claudius fell a victim to Virginia ; and there can be little doubt that when the author of *Measure for Measure* wrote : " But that frailty hath examples for his falling, I should wonder at Angelo " (iii. 1. 190), he had in mind Marcus Antonius and Appius Claudius. In those three additional paragraphs which Bacon published in the 1625 edition of his *Essay of Love* (the first two and the last) he speaks of these two men as exceptions to a rule ; and of the charitable nature of friars. He describes Marcus Antonius as " *voluptuous and inordinate* " ; and Shakespeare speaks of his " voluptuousness " and " full surfeits " (*Antony and Cleopatra*, i. 4. 25) ; and man of full surfeits in an inordinate man.

Let us now compare the portraits of Appius Claudius and Angelo :—

Bacon. *Essay x*, 1625.	*Shakespeare.* *Measure for Measure*, 1623.
" Appius Claudius " (Virginia).	" Angelo "—" Isabel."
" Decemvir and lawgiver."	Self-constituted lawgiver.
" Austere."	" The austereness of my life." (*Meas.*, ii. 4. 156.)
" and wise."	" One so learned and so wise " (*Ib.*, v. 1. 475.)
" The mad degree of love."	" The dribbling dart of love." (*Ib.*, i. 3. 2.)
" Can find entrance."	" Can pierce." (*Ib.*, i. 3. 3.
" not only into an open heart."	not only " a heart unfortified." (*Ham.*, i. 2. 96.)
" but also into a heart well fortified."	but also " a complete bosom ". (*Meas.*, i. 3. 3)
" if watch be not kept."	and did, because watch was not kept.

We see, then, that the portraits of Angelo and Appius Claudius resemble each other to this extent, that both were engaged in the same occupation ; each had the same guards, austerity and wisdom, placed about his heart, but these guards fell asleep, or neglected their duty, so that in the one case " the dribbling dart of love," and in the other " the mad degree of love " found easy access, because watch was not kept.

And to complete the analogy between the two authors regarding love and the charitable nature of friars, you will find, in *Measure for Measure*, Friar Lodowick twice referring to his charitable nature :—

> " Bound by my charity, and my blest order,
> I come to visit the afflicted spirits
> Here in the prison." (ii. 3. 3.)

Again :—

> " Sir, induced by my charity," etc. (iv. 3. 53.)

Angelo was what Bacon would term " *a most severe justicer* " (*Life*, v. p. 377), and Shakespeare a " most learned justicer." (*Lear*, iii. 6. 23) :

> " One so learned and so wise."
> (*Meas.*, v. 1. 475.)

This severe and learned justicer has taken pains to convince Isabel that he has not gone beyond the letter of the law in condemning her brother ; but now, if she will grant him a request, he, in return, will go on the side of injustice and decree against the statute ; and so, by departing from the letter of the law for the first time, he makes himself a legislator and brings about his own downfall, an idea which is based upon Proverbs xxv. 26.

Bacon has two versions of this proverb. In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) and in his *De Augmentis* (1623) he writes, " *Fons turbatus pede et vena corrupta est justus cadens coram impio* " (A just man falling before the wicked is like a troubled fountain and a corrupted spring) ; but in his *Essay of Judicature* he writes, " *So saith Solomon, " Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est jutus cadens in causa sua coram adversario ' "* (A just man falling before his adversary in his own cause is, etc.).

The author of *Measure for Measure* seems to make use of both forms; for the duke allows Angelo to be a judge *in causa sua* ("Be you judge of your own cause"—v. 1. 167), and soon after pulls him down both *coram adversario* (Isabel) and *coram impio* (The wicked citizens of Vienna, "where I have seen corruption boil and bubble till it o'er-run the stew"—v. 1. 320).

It would seem that Bacon wrote—not what was actually said but—what he thought Solomon meant. This explanation will be made very evident when we consider his commentary upon Proverbs xxix. 21.

It is possible that the author of the play had in mind another parable selected by Bacon, which is this:—

> "*Primus in causa sua justus; tum venit altera pars, et inquiri in eum.*" (The first in his own cause seems just, then comes the other party, and inquires into him.) (*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola*, xvii);

for this is exactly what happens in *Measure for Measure*. In the last scene of the play Angelo is first in his own cause, then comes the duke and inquires into him. When Angelo is accused by Isabel he says to the duke, "Her wits, I fear me, are not firm," and even the duke pretends to think her mad. Isabel then implores the duke to do exactly what Bacon says a judge ought to do:—

> "*A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills; so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of the judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground.*" (*Essay* 56.)

Isabel:

> "O gracious duke!
> Harp not on that; nor do not banish reason
> For inequality; but let your reason serve.
> To make the truth appear where it seems hid.
> And hide the false seems true."

The word "that" refers to madness. Do not think me mad because of the inequality between me and this great

man; but let your reason serve (let your virtue be seen) to make the truth appear (by exalting the valley) where it seems hid, and make low the mountain of falsehood that obstructs your view; in other words, to make inequality equal, that you may plant your judgment as upon an even ground.

At the end of the second act Isabel is made to realise the meaning of inequality, and the magnitude of the falsehood :—

Angelo to Isabel :

"Say what you can, my false o'erweighs your true."
(ii. 4. 170.)

Isabel to the audience :

"Did I tell this, who would believe me?"
(ii. 4. 171.)

The word "inequality" is not used elsewhere in the plays; and it has the same meaning as it has in Bacon's essay, and is used regarding the same subject.

In *Henry VIII* (ii. 4. 107) Katharine is in similar case. She, too, has in opposition two foxy cardinals: "*A high hand, cunning advantages taken,*" and realizes the meaning of inequality when she says :

"I am a simple woman, much too weak
To oppose your cunning."

Isabel asks for justice; so does Katharine, and at the same time complains of the absence of equality.
Katharine to Henry VIII :

"Sir, I desire you do me right and justice;
. . . . . having here
No judge indifferent, nor no more assurance
Of equal friendship and proceeding."
H8, ii. 4. 13.)

"*Take care and provide that our subjects have equal and indifferent justice.*"* (*Life*, v, p. 395.)

Note the difference in the order of "equal," "indifferent"

* The prayer for the Church militant has "truly and indifferently minister justice."

and "justice," and compare "equal friendship" with "*equal and indifferent terms and motives of affection.*"
(*Life*, iii. p. 205.)

When Isabel said, "Yet show some pity" (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 99); and when Katharine said, "Bestow your pity on me" (*H8*, ii. 4. 14), they were both appealing to a supreme equity judge, because the author of their speeches knew as well as Bacon, that the office of a common law judge is to interpret the law, and that the supreme equity judge alone can bestow pity; and when Bacon wrote "*inequality*" *he had in mind* "*Omnis vallis exaltabitur*" (Isaiah xl. 4), and so had the author of Isabel's words, "Nor do banish reason (in me) for inequality." The word "for" means "because of," as it does in "*Two unfortunate Kings; the one of Edward II, who when he kept himself close for danger, was,*" etc. (*Life*, ii. p. 282); and as it does in *King John*—"Go closely in with me: much danger do I undergo for thee" (iv. 1. 134). Suppose your earthly judge should fail you; why then you must "*refer all your oppressions, afflictions and injuries to the even-balanced eye of the Almighty.*" (*Nashe*, v. p. 175.) This "even-balanced eye" comes "*by raising valleys and taking down hills,*" . . . "*to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground*"; and so we conclude that Bacon, Shakespeare and Nashe were equally interested in the fourth verse of the fortieth chapter of Isaiah.

"*For the advocates and counsel that plead, patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice.*"
(*Essay*, 56.—1625.)

Angelo pleading:

"Now, good my lord, give me the scope of justice;
My patience here is touched." (v. 1. 235.)

"My gravity, wherein—let no man hear me—I take pride." (ii. 4. 9.)

Why does Angelo lose patience? It is because the inequality in power between himself and Isabel is made less unequal by the appearance of Mariana as a witness on the part of Isabel.

This precept concerning "*patience and gravity of hearing*" is the last of a series laid down by Bacon in those 25 lines

of his *Essay of Judicature*, beginning with "*A judge ought to prepare.*" While reading the play, you will probably notice that the author puts Isabel forward to advance some of these precepts; and you will not be long in discovering that Angelo, the "corrupt deputy," during his brief authority, goes contrary to every one of them. He does not attempt to make inequality equal; he turns into rigour that which was meant for terror; he awakes a sleeping law, and strikes at Claudio without warning. Isabel pleads for mercy, and he turns a deaf ear; she pleads for a severe eye upon the example, and a merciful eye upon her brother, but cannot move him; and towards the end, as we have just seen, he loses that patience which Bacon says is an essential part of justice.

Chapter III

THE EFFECTS OF LAWS GOOD AND BAD

We now come to King Henry's reply to Wolsey's remarkable speech:—

> "Things done well
> And with a care, exempt themselves from fear."
> (*H8*, i. 2. 88.)

"*The judge as long as his judgment was contained within the compass of the law was excused; the subject knew by what law he was to govern himself and his actions; nothing was left to the judge's discretion; and when it was required long since by a bill in parliament to have somewhat left to the judge to allow or dislike in a particular case which should be made arbitrary by the said bill, it was rejected, and upon this reason, that men were better be subject to a known inconvenience than to an unknown discretion.*" (*Life*, iii. pp. 331–2.)

When the duke said to Angelo,

> "Your scope is as mine own,
> So to enforce or qualify the laws
> As to your soul seems good" (*Meas.*, i. 1. 65.)

he subjected the citizens of Vienna to an unknown discretion, and the result proved the wisdom of the members of the English parliament, and drew forth from Isabel the following words :—

" O perilous mouths,
That bear in them one and the self-same tongue,
Either of condemnation or approof ;
Bidding the law make court'sy to their will ;
Hooking both right and wrong to the appetite."
(*Meas.*, ii. 4. 172.)

Henry's speech continued :—

" Things done without example, in their issue
Are to be fear'd. Have you a precedent
Of this commission ? I believe not any."
(*H8*, i. 2. 90.)

Then remember this, that " *unjust sentences, such as we spoke of, which are afterwards drawn into precedents* (*a quibus exempla petuntur*) *infect and defile the very fountain of justice.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola* xxv) ; and if you infect and defile the fountain of justice by passing an unjust sentence in any grave and weighty cause, you also infect and defile the streams that flow from that fountain ; because

" 'Twill be recorded for a precedent,
And many an error by the same example
Will rush into the state." (*Merchant*, iv. 1–220.)

We now see the significance of Bacon's " *a quibus exempla petuntur* " in the passage just quoted ; all the more significant when we remember that the above three lines from Portia are in reply to Bassanio who has asked her to pass an unjust sentence in a grave and weighty cause.

In his explanation of this, his 25th selected parable, Bacon goes on to say, " *For when once the court goes on the side of injustice the law becomes a public robber and one man simply a wolf to another.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola* xxv), and again " Shakespeare " gives the reason which is this :—

" Thieves for their robbery have authority
When judges steal themselves." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 176.)

And there can be no doubt that when Angelo used these words he was afflicted with what Bacon calls "*the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart.*" (*Life*, vii. p. 226.) He, the supreme equity judge: the man of "absolute power and place here in Vienna," and therefore the fountain of justice, knew well enough that in passing an unjust and scandalous sentence upon Claudio, he was defiling and corrupting the fountain. I say "knew well enough" because when he said,

> "O, let her brother live:
> Thieves for their robbery have authority
> When judges steal themselves,"

he was reasoning with and upbraiding himself.

> "*To leave the letter of the law makes the judge a legislator.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

Wolsey "was a man of an unbounded stomach . . . his own opinion was his law." (*H8*, iv. 2. 33.)

He left the letter of the law and made himself a legislator, just as Angelo did in *Measure for Measure.*

Observe again how "Shakespeare" follows Bacon in dealing with Jason of Thessalia:—

> *Jason the Thessalian used to say, some things must be done unjustly, that many more may be done justly. But the answer is ready,—Present justice is in our power, but of future justice we have no security: let men pursue those things which are good and just at present, and leave futurity to Divine providence.*" (*De Aug.*, vii. 11.)

When Bassanio put Jason's proposition before Portia, her answer was equally ready:—

Bassanio to Portia:

> "Wrest once the law to your authority;
> To do a great right do a little wrong."
>
> (*Merchant*, iv. 1. 215.)

Portia to Bassanio:

> "It must not be. There is no power in Venice
> Can alter a decree established;"

for when once the law has been fixed and established and exposed to public view "*no court of equity should have the*

right to decree contrary to a statute under any pretext of equity whatever, otherwise the judge would become a legislator, and have all things dependent upon his will."

(*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 44.)

" Bidding the law make court'sy to (his) will
Hooking both right and wrong to the appetite."

(*Meas.*, ii. 4. 175.)

So in Henry VIII :—

" We must not rend our subjects from our laws
And stick them in our will." (*H8*, i. 2. 93) ;

(Bidding the law make court'sy to (our) will.)

" Have you a precedent for this commission ? I believe not any."

Very well, then, as Portia says,

" 'Twill be recorded for a precedent,
And many an error by the same example
Will rush into the state."

And from this we conclude that an unjust law is a disease in a state, like to infection, just as " envy is a disease in a state like to infection." (*Essay* ix.)

Let us now see how Henry quelled the " rebellion of the belly " caused by " hunger and lack of other means."

" *The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is want and poverty in the estate.*"

(*Essay*, xv. 1625.)

Henry VIII :—

" To every county
Where this is question'd send our letters, with
Free pardon to each man that has denied
The full force of this commission." (*H8*, i. 2. 98.)

These letters were to be sent to the discontented counties of England where " bold mouths," " all in uproar " traduced and censured Wolsey on account of his exactions. Thus Henry ended the rebellion, not as Menenius Agrippa did, by a fable, but by cancelling Wolsey's commission, and so removing the cause as Bacon advises.

We have seen that Bacon and Shakespeare objected to a

gangrenous or scarecrow law because it was a disease in a state like to infection ; the reason being that scarecrow laws "*bring a gangrene, neglect, and habit of disobedience upon other wholesome laws that are fit to be retained in practice and execution*" ; and we have just seen that both agree that an unjust law is also a disease in a state like to infection, because it will be recorded for a precedent, and so cause the infection to spread ; and again that they are in complete accord as to the answer that should be given in cases of what Bacon calls "*comparative duty . . . where the question is of a good deal of good to ensue of a small injustice, which Jason of Thessalia determined against the truth.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 21. 11.)

In dealing with seditions, caused by griefs and discontents, I have purposely selected Essays ix and xv., because they were not printed in England before 1625 ; and for a similar reason I have picked out *King John*, *Coriolanus* and *King Henry VIII* which were not printed before November 1623. It is quite clear, therefore, that none of the reputed authors of these plays, not even Bacon himself, could have borrowed from the printed essays. It is equally clear that Bacon could not have seen the three printed plays before writing his MS. essay of Seditions (1607-12), and yet in 30 lines of *King John* there are six reminders of this particular essay, and five of them within the space of 20 lines of it. The sixth is also in the essay, but not within the 20 lines :—

1. *Discontent* which is the cause of
2. *Tempests in state*
3. *The pillars of government* that were at fault :
   religion and justice
4. *Fair weather* that men had need to pray for to calm the tempest
5. The reference to Isaiah xlv. 1. and
6. The reference to Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 39).

Bacon was a "thief," and so was "Shakespeare" ; but seldom do we find so much felony in the plays as we do in seventy-seven lines of *King Henry VIII* (i. 2. 17 to 94), which contain twenty-six reminders of Bacon.

As Galba's actions made him traduced and censured by

the Roman soldiers; so, Wolsey's actions made him "traduced by ignorant tongues" and "malicious censurers."

The "sick interpreters" also stolen from that passage in *Tacitus* which contains the word *interpretari* (*Hist.* ii. 39; so, also, "Bold mouths," "language unmannerly" and "tongues spit their duties out."

"Griefs" and "grievances" explained in *Essay XV.* "We must not stint our necessary actions": the reason why in *Essay IX.* "The fate of place" in *Essay IX*, and Bacon's explanation of Ecclesiastes, x. 1.

"The rough brake that virtue must go through," also in Bacon's Ecclesiastes x. 1.

"But benefit no further than vainly longing" (line 80), explained in *The Advancement of Learning* (ii. 23. 47), regarding "*the offence of futility, as in Sisyphus and Tantalus.*"

"But you frame things . . . which are not wholesome," explained by Bacon in his subsidy speech (*Life*, i. p. 223), which we shall come to again in a moment.

"Things done well . . . exempt themselves from fear," and "things done without example . . . are to be feared," and "we must not rend our subjects from our laws," all explained by Bacon as in the text.

It seems to me that the felon must be Bacon himself, because he is the only man who need not await the publication of his own prose works before making use of them. Some have supposed that Bacon collaborated with a man who called himself "Shakespeare," allowing him to have access to his mind, or to his manuscripts, long before they were printed; but against this supposition we have but to turn to *Works*, vi. p. 523, to note how jealous Bacon was lest his writings should be stolen and abused. (See preface to the first edition of his essays.)

If anyone should require further evidence of the close agreement between Bacon and the author of that scene in *King Henry VIII*, which has just been dealt with, let him turn to two speeches: one which Bacon delivered in parliament in 1593, and the other in 1604 (*Life*, i. p. 223, and *Life*, iii. p. 181).

In the first there are two things to be noted:—

"*Danger and discontentment.*" Danger to Elizabeth from excessive taxation of "*the general commonalty.*" (*Life*, i. p. 223.) As Bacon warns the members of parliament of discontentment caused by the oppression of the poor people and the consequent danger to the queen; so, Norfolk warns Henry VIII that the poor people "are all in uproar and danger serves among them." (*H8.* i. 2. 36.)

And as, in April 1604, Bacon was solicited by members of parliament to petition King James concerning the "*great grievance*" of the common people in which he says," '*It is affirmed unto me by divers gentlemen of good regard*"; (*Life* iii. p. 185); so, in *King Henry VIII*, Katharine is solicited to petition the King concerning the "great grievance" of the common people, in which she says, "I am solicited, not by a few, and those of true condition" (*H8.* i. 2. 18), "*. . . that there is no pound profit which redoundeth to your Majesty in this course, but induceth and begetteth three pound damage upon your subjects, besides the discontentment.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 185.)

Katharine: "Your subjects are in great grievance"
(Line 19.)

Bacon: "*Concerning the great grievance arising by the manifold abuses of purveyors*"
(*Life*, iii. p. 182.)
"*But yet notwithstanding* (*most excellent King*) *to use that freedom which to subjects that pour out their griefs*" (*Ib.*, p. 183.)

Katharine: "The subjects' grief comes through commissions." (Line 56.)

Bacon: "*The commissions they bring down are against the law.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 185.)
"*They take in kind what they ought not to take . . . instead of takers they become taxers.*"
(*Ib.*, p. 184.)

Norfolk: ". . . upon these taxations,
The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them 'longing, have put off
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
Unfit for other life . . ."
(*H8.* i. 2. 30.)

Henry : " Taxation !
Wherein and what taxation ? "

Bacon : " *They tax your people ad redimendam vexationem imposing upon them and extorting from them divers sums of money* " (p. 184.)

Katharine : " Compel from each the sixth part of his substance, to be levied without delay "
(Line 57.)
" And the pretence for this
Is named your wars with France "
(Line 59.)

Bacon : " *War was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people* " (*Hist., Hen. VII.*)
" The commons hath he pilled with grievous taxes,
And quite lost their hearts "
(*R2*, ii. 1. 246.)

Bacon : " *Again they use a strange and most unjust exaction.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 184.)
" And daily new exactions are devised,
As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not what "
(*R2*, ii. 1. 249.)

There can be no pretence of war ; for
" Wars hath not wasted it, for warred he hath not
But basely yielded upon compromise."
(*Ib.*, ii. 1. 252.)

Katharine : " These exactions
Whereof my sovereign would have note, they are
Most pestilent to the hearing." (Line 47.)

Henry : " Still exactions !
The nature of it ? in what kind, let's know
Is this exaction ? "

Bacon : " *They take trees which by law they cannot do.*"
(p. 184.)

Henry : " We must not rend our subjects from our laws "
" . . . Why we take
From every tree lop, bark, and part o' the timber ;

And, though we leave it with a root, thus hack'd,
The air will drink the sap"
(Lines 93 and 95.)

Bacon: *All these great misdemeanors are committed in and under your Majesty's name* (p. 186).

Katharine: "The King our master . . . even he escapes not" (Line 25).

Bacon: *We hope your Majesty will hold them twice guilty that commit these offences, once for the oppressing of the people . . .*" (p. 186).

This oppression of the people is what Bacon complained of in his speech (1593) against the granting of three subsidies, payable in four years:—

"*The danger is this: we (shall thus) breed discontentment in the people. And in the cause of jeopardy, her Majesty's safety must consist more in the love of her people than in their wealth. And therefore (we should beware) not to give them cause of discontentment.*"
(*Life*, i. p. 223.)

This "*love of her people*" brings us back to the fable of "*Briareus with his hundred hands.*" and to "Bid him strive to gain the love o' the commonalty."

The safety of the crown in this speech is also expressed in the petition to King James; so is the safety of King Henry in the scene we are dealing with.

Equally important is the solicitude for the poor people expressed in all three; and reinforced, after the subsidy speech, in Bacon's letter to Burghley:—

"*It is true from the beginning, whatsoever was above a double subsidy, I did wish might (for precedent's sake) appear to be extraordinary.*" (*Life*, i. p. 234); because, as he says in his subsidy speech, "*Other princes hereafter will look for the like; so we shall put an ill precedent upon ourselves and to our posterity.*" (*Ib.*, p. 223.)

It is clear, then, that in Elizabeth's time there was no precedent for "three subsidies, payable in four years"; neither was there any precedent in Henry's time for Wolsey's "sixth part of each to be levied without delay;" hence Henry's question and exclamation:

" A sixth part of each ? A trembling contribution ! "
(*H*8, i. 2. 95.)

Bacon's letter to Burghley continued :—

" *and* (*for discontent's sake*) *mought not be levied upon the poorer sort.*"

This defending of the poor against oppressive taxations and exactions was one of Bacon's greatest virtues. Even as late as 1621 he wrote : " *The state and bread of the poor and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes.*"
(*Life*, vii. p. 230.)

This same virtue is equally marked in " Shakespeare," pleading for the poor, " Compell'd by hunger and lack of other means," in the scene we are dealing with, and also in *King Lear* (iii. 4. 35) :

" Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou may'st shake the superflux to them."

And again in Bacon's *History of Henry VII* :—

" *For matter of treasure, let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound.*" (*Works*, vi. p. 119.)

Regarding the raising of money for the state, Bacon tells us that a wholesome law is one that does not cause discontentment among the " general commonalty," and by consequence no danger to the crown ; and therefore a law which is not wholesome is one that produces the exact opposite conditions ; and such were the conditions which Wolsey created by excessive taxation of the people ; and as, in the scene we are dealing with, the people " are all in uproar and danger serves among them," it is easy to understand what Katharine means when she says to Wolsey : " But you frame things . . . which are not wholesome to those that would know them, and yet must perforce be their acquaintance." (*H*8, i. 2. 44.) The word " wholesome ", applied to laws, occurs again in that ironical speech in Coriolanus :

" Repeal daily any wholesome act established against the rich, and provide more piercing statutes to chain up and restrain the poor." (i. 1. 84.)

But this word "wholesome", applied to laws, is much more common in Bacon's works as the following quotations will show :—

> "*Look into the state of your laws and justice of your land; purge out multiplicity of laws, clear the incertainty of them, repeal those that are snaring, and press the execution of those that are wholesome and necessary.*"
> (*Life*, i. p. 339.)
>
> "*The cessation and abstinance to execute these unnecessary laws doth mortify the execution of such as are wholesome and most meet to be put in execution both for your Majesty's profit and the universal benefit of the realm.*"
> (*Works*, vii. p. 315, note.)
>
> "*Penal laws obsolete and out of use . . . bring a gangrene, neglect and habit of disobedience upon other wholesome laws that are fit to be continued in practice and execution.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 65.)
>
> "*To devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws.*" (*Hist. Henry VII*, *Works*, vi. p. 80.)

and again on page 85 :

> "*The lasting fruit of Parliament, which is good and wholesome laws.*"

The reason for staying so long upon this particular scene in *Henry VIII* is because of the obvious reference to Bacon's commentary upon Ecclesiastes x. 1 ; and whenever we come upon a reference to this parable, as we do in twelve of the plays and in *Lucrece*, we find other reminders of Bacon not far away ; and in seventy-seven lines of this short scene we find no less than twenty-six of them ; some taken from the two essays ; some from the two speeches and one or two from elsewhere ; and, as already stated, Bacon's two essays, ix and xv, which have been drawn upon so extensively in this book, were not published before 1625, and his petition to James was not published before 1657 in Dr. Rawley's first edition of the *Resuscitatio* (*Works*, vii. p. 114). It is clear therefore that William of Stratford who died in 1616 could not have seen the essays nor the petition and could not have borrowed from them.

This argument applies also to the Earl of Oxford, who

died in 1604; to the Earl of Rutland, who died in 1612; to Beaumont, who died in 1616; to Fletcher, who died in 1625; and to the sixth earl of Derby, who died even later. If any of these men had lived till 1650 it would have made no difference, because not one of them could have seen the printed essays or petition in time to make use of them in a play that must have been written two years before 1625, otherwise it could not have appeared in the first folio of November 1623.

The only man to whom this argument does not apply is Francis Bacon; for he is the only man who had no need to await the printing of his own work in order to make use of it even twenty years before 1625.

If the "more intelligent critics" (words which they apply to themselves) insist upon assigning this scene to Shakespeare, then, I say, this Shakespeare could not be William of Stratford-on-Avon.

Chapter IV

THE PASSIONS AND TRAITS OF HUMAN NATURE

There are other ways of expressing the passions of the mind without utterance. Some can argue *pro et contra* with their eyebrows at one and the same time:—

"*Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs, as Cicero saith of Piso . . . "Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi nom placere.*" (*Essay* 26.) (With one brow raised to your forehead, the other bent downward to your chin, you answer that cruelty delights you not.)

"With one auspicious, and one dropping eye . . .
. . . In equal scale weighing delight and dole."
(*Ham.*, i. ii. 11. First Folio.)

"*There was never any king . . . had greater and juster cause of the two contrary passions of joy and sorrow than his*

grace hath" (*Works*, vi. p. 79); and, therefore, of having one eye elevated and the other declined.

"But, O, the noble combat that, 'twixt joy and sorrow,
Was fought in Paulina! She had one eye declined
For the loss of her husband, another elevated that
The oracle was fulfilled." (*W. Tale*, v. ii. 81.)

"*Antitheta are theses argued pro et contra.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 18. 8.)

An elevated eye is an argument *pro*, and a depressed eye is an argument *contra*. Bacon discoursing upon the passions of the mind, says,

"*Light displeasure or dislike causeth shaking of the head, frowning and knitting of the brows.*" (*Works*, ii. p. 569.)

"The widow likes him not, she knits her brows."
(3*H*6, iii. 2. 82.)
"He knits his brow and shows an angry eye."
(2*H*6, iii. 1. 15.)

Some, again, can feign displeasure outwardly while inwardly delighted:

"*Grata sub imo*
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem."
(*De Aug.*, vi. iii.)
(Her face said, fie, for shame; but sweet delight possessed her heart in secret).
"How angerly I taught my brow to frown,
When inward joy enforced my heart to smile."
(*T.G.V.*, i. 2. 62.)
"Since maids, in modesty, say 'no' to that
Which they would have the profferer construe 'ay'."
(*Ib.*, i. 2. 55.)

Again, in that little piece of low comedy between Juliet's nurse and the mother:

"And, by my holidame,
The pretty wretch left crying and say 'ay'."
(*Romeo*, i. 3. 44.)

"*Grata sub imo*" is from the Latin translation of *Theocritus* (*Id.*, i. 27. 70) by Eobanus Hessus, Paris, 1546; see *Works*, i. p. 683.

On the same page Bacon gives another quotation from *Horace* (*Sat.*, i. 1. 66.)

" *Populus me sibilat ; at mihi plaudo.*"

(The people hiss me, but I applaud myself.)

Hear what Hercules says :

" If any of the audience hiss, you may cry ' Well done Hercules ! ' " (*L.L.L.*, v. 1. 143.)

Julia's frown was surely a theatrical virtue, the test of which is, according to Bacon, " what persons would not do if they thought it would not be known " (*De Aug.*, vi. iii.) Would Julia have frowned if Lucetta had been absent ? Would Hercules have troubled to crush the snake had there been no audience ?

" *Knitting of the brows* " is the same as contracting them ; and when a child is grieved, its whole face is contracted in one brow of woe ; so, with a nation grieved at the loss of a popular king :

" To bear our hearts in grief and our whole kingdom
To be contracted in one brow of woe."

(*Ham.*, i. 2. 2.)

Sometimes men with flawed hearts cannot weigh delight and dole in equal scale, and so it comes about that " *Many have died through great and sudden joy.*" (*Hist. Life and Death.*)

" His flaw'd heart,
Alack, too weak the conflict to support !
'Twixt two extremes of passion, joy and grief,
Burst smilingly." (*Lear*, v. iii. 196.)

(A) " *We know it hath been seen that excessive sudden joy hath caused present death.*" (*Syl. Syl.*, 715.)

The remedy :—

(B) " Give me a gash, put me to present pain ;
Lest this great sea of joys rushing upon me
O'erbear the shores of my mortality,
And drown me in their sweetness."

(*Pericles*, v. 1. 193.)

" *When the senses are too exquisite and wandering they want narcotics, so likewise do wandering affections.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iii., *Antitheta.*)

A and B, taken together, are very interesting. In each, the word "present" has precisely the same meaning (instant or immediate); and a joy "rushing upon me" must be an "excessive sudden joy." In A we have "present death," and in B "present pain" as a means of preventing present death.

Diseases which require instant or immediate remedies must be desperate; and "Diseases desperate grown by desperate appliance are relieved, or not at all." (*Ham.*, iv. 3. 9.) So in Nashe (*Vol.* iv. p. 27), "To desperate diseases must desperate medicines be applied"; and without a moment's delay:

"Then pause not; for the present time's so sick,
That present medicine must be minister'd,
Or overthrow incurable ensues."
(*K. John*, v. 1. 14.)

The same is expressed by Katharine in *Henry VIII* (i. 2. 65):

"I would your highness
Would give it quick consideration, for
There is no primer business."

"*The Italians note . . . that he hath 'poco di matto'* (a little of the fool); *and certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest.*" (*Essay* 40.)

As to a little of the fool:—

"*Stultitiam simulare loco sapientia summa est.*"
"To feign the fool, when fit occasions rise,
Argues the being more completely wise."
(*Praise of Folly*, Eras.; Translation by W. Kennet.)
"This fellow's wise enough to play the fool."
(*T.N.*, iii. 1. 67.)
"*Mallem delirus inersque videri,*
Quam sapere et ringi."
(*Praise of Folly*, and *Horace, Ep.*, ii. 2. 126.)
"I'ad rather much be censur'd for a fool,
Than feel the lash and smart of wisdom's school."
(W. Kennet.)
"Better a witty fool than a foolish wit."
(*T.N.*, i. 5. 39.)

" *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem.*"
(*Praise of Folly*, and *Horace, Od.*, iv. 12. 27.)

" Short folly with your counsels mix." (W. Kennet.)

" *It was the constant practice of two great and prudent privy-counsellors, on whom the weight of the Kingdom chiefly rested, as often as they discoursed with their princes upon matters of state, never to end the conversation with what regarded the principal subject; but always to go off with a jest.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola* x.)

" After they closed in earnest, they parted very fairly in jest." (*T.G.V.*, ii. 5. 13.)

" *. . . and as the proverb runs, 'washing off their salt water discourses with fresh at the conclusion.'* " (*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola*, x.)

" Your fair discourse has been as sugar,
Making the hard way sweet." (*R2*, ii. 3. 6.)
" And if it end so meet
The bitter past, more welcome is the sweet."
(*All's Well, end.*)

" *It is highly politic to pass smoothly from jest to earnest, and from earnest to jest.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

" But turning these jests out of service let us talk in good earnest." (*As You*, i. 3. 26.)

" *If a wise man contends with a fool, whether he be in anger or in jest, there is no quiet.*" (*De Aug.*, viii., ii., *parabola*, iii.) *The advice of Solomon is . . . that we should not strive with the worthless; for here the match is very unequal, where it is no victory to conquer, and a great disgrace to be conquered. Nor does it signify if, in such a conquest, we should sometimes deal as in jest, and sometimes in the way of disdain, and contempt; for what course soever we take, we are losers, and can never come handsomely off. But the worst case of all is, if our antagonist have something of the fool in him.*" (*De Aug.*, viii., ii., *parabola*, iii.)

" Will you set your wit to a fool's ? "
" No, I warrant you ; for a fool's will shame it."
(*Troilus*, ii. 1. 93) ;

and, therefore,

" He that a fool doth very wisely hit
" Doth very foolishly " ; for he cannot
" *come handsomely off* " ; and, " if not,
The wise man's folly is anatomized
Even by the squandering glances of the fool."
(*As You*, ii. 7. 53–5.)

" *Give occasion to a wise man, and his wisdom will be increased.*" (*De Aug.*, viii., ii., *parabola*, xxxii) ; but

" Those wits, that think they have thee, do very oft prove fools." (*T.N.*, i. 5. 35) ;

" *So that the person who thought himself endowed with this wisdom, begins to question whether his preconceptions about it were not mere dreams and empty speculations.*"
(*De Aug.*, viii., ii., *parabola*, xxxii.)

As to the second of those " *two more fortunate properties . . . not too much of the honest* " :—

" To be direct and honest is not safe." (*Oth.*, iii. 3. 378

" For honesty's a fool, and loseth that it works for." (*Ib.*, 382.)

" The noble and true-hearted Kent banished !
his offence honesty ! " (*Lear*, i. 2. 127.)

" A brother noble . . . on whose foolish honesty my practices ride easy ! " (*Ib.*, i. 2. 196.)

" What a fool Honesty is ! and Trust, his sworn brother, a very simple gentleman ! " (*W. Tale*, iv. 4. 606.)

" But to return again to the *passions or sicknesses of the mind*.

Another *sickness of the mind* is jealousy :—

" A sickness caught of me, and yet I well." (*W. Tale*, i. 2. 398.)

And " *like to infection* " :—

" How hast thou with jealousy infected
" The sweetness of affiance ? " (*H5*, ii. 2. 127.)

And *as infection . . . tainteth*, what a miserable man was Posthumus to " suffer Iachimo

" To taint his nobler heart and brain
" With needless jealousy ! " (*Cymb.*, v., 4. 65.)

And equally miserable Leontes ! and still more miserable Othello !

It is almost a rule, that whenever we come upon a passion or sickness of the mind which is " like to infection " in the plays, we find other reminders of Bacon not far away. In the last hundred lines of the First Act in the *Winter's Tale* there are seven of them :—

A. *Men may be known six different ways :—*

By their countenances.

Also by the relation of others'. (*De Aug.*, viii., ii.)

Polixenes saves his life by making use of these two, the first and last.

As to *the countenance :—*

There is no great matter in that old proverb, " Fronti nulla fides." (Trust not to a man's face.) (*Ib.*)

Polixenes :

" I do believe thee, I saw his heart in's face." (*W.T.*, i. 2. 446.)

None more close than Tiberius, and yet Tacitus saith of Gallus, " Etenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat." (He had seen displeasure in his countenance.) (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 16.)

Polixenes :

" The king hath on him such a countenance
As he had lost some province." (*W.T.*, i. 2. 368.)

And this king, Leontes, infected with jealousy, speaks of

" the infection of my brains
" And the hardening of my brows." (*Ib.*, i. 2. 145.)

We have just seen that *knitting of the brows* is a sign of displeasure.

B. As to *the relation of others :—*

" Verior fama e domesticis emanat." (The truest character comes from domestics.) (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.)

It was from Camillo, the trusted servant of Leontes, that Polixenes came to know of *the sickness of the mind* which infected Leontes. Line 451 names the disease,—" This jealousy."

C. Again, *" Thought is free "* (*Promus.*), and *" There is no prison to the prison of the thoughts which are free under the greatest tyrants."* (*Life*, i., p. 379.)

Polixenes :

" I beseech you,
" If you know aught which does behove my knowledge
" Thereof to be inform'd, imprison't not
" In ignorant concealment." (*Ib.*, i. 2. 394.)
" Make not your thoughts your prisons." (*A. and C.* v. 2. 185.)

D. Another reminder is the basilisk ;

" *As the fable goeth of the basilisk, that if he see you first, you die for it ; but if you see him first, he dieth : so is it with deceits and evil arts ; which, if they be first espied they leese their life.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 21. 9.)

Polixenes :

" Make me not sighted like the basilisk." (*W.T.*, i. 2. 379.)

E. " *So in the fable of Achilles . . . expounded ingeniously but corruptly by Machiavel, that it belongeth to the education and discipline of princes to know as well how to play the part of the lion in violence.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 4. 4.)

Polixenes :

" This jealousy
Is for a precious creature : as she's rare,
Must it be great, and as his person's mighty,
Must it be violent."

But the strongest reminder of Bacon is the obvious reference to Ecclesiastes x. 1., in the following speech by Polixenes after hearing from Camillo that Leontes suspects him of being false and perfidious.

" O, then my best blood turn
To an infected jelly, and my name
Be yoked with his that did betray the Best !
Turn then my freshest reputation to
A savour that may strike the dullest nostril."

The 1611 Bible has " reputation " and " stinking savour."

It seems clear enough that Hamlet's pre-ghost speech is based upon Ecclesiastes x. 1. It is, as already stated, a short discourse upon public and private folly, and is probably modelled upon the same plan as Bacon's *Essay*

of Envy, public and private, which was first printed in England in 1625. In this essay we see that *envy is a disease in a state like to infection . . .* so, *when envy (discontentment) is gotten once into a state it traduceth even the best actions thereof and turneth them into an ill odour ;* and that this is borrowed from *Tacitus*. (*Hist.*, i. 7.)

Drunkenness is also a disease in a state "like to infection"; and when this "heavy-headed revel" is gotten once into our state it traduceth our achievements though performed at height; takes the pith and marrow from our attribute, and so causes our name to yield an ill odour.

So oft it chances in particular men, that when harsh rage or defect of manners is gotten once into a nobleman, it loseth men's hearts and beguiles him of commendation; and to beguile a man of commendation is but a degree short of "a blasting and a scandalous breath," (*Meas.*, v. 1. 122) which blackens reputation and so causes his name to yield an ill odour; and as it is in particular men, so it is in nations, that for some folly, fault or defect, "*the best actions of a state*," or the achievements of Denmark performed at height, *are taken in ill sense and traduced :* makes us traduced; *greatly diminishes their character and reputation :* takes the pith and marrow from our attribute, and causes our name to yield an ill odour.

And when perfidy is gotten once into a king, it turneth his freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril.

An infectious disease is more contaminating in its early than in its later stages, and the same is true in morals ; for we see that the example of very abandoned men injures public morality less than the example of men in whom vice has not yet extinguished all good qualities. (*De Aug.*, iii. i.)

Here, again, the reason is that "Folly in fools bears not so strong a note as foolery in the wise." On the other hand "*Honours make both virtue and vice conspicuous*" (*Antitheta*), because *in eminent men their smallest faults* (*or defects*) *are readily seen* ("Gaz'd upon with every eye"), *talked of* ("what great ones do the less will prattle of"), *and severely censured* ("shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault"). And not only so,

but because " the little foolery that wise men have makes a great show " (*As You*, i. 2. 96) ; and

" No man that hath a name
" But falsehood and corruption doth it shame."
(*Errors*, ii. 1. 112) ;

for " *there is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious* " (*Essay* i.) ; and " *the more eminent the life the greater the curse.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.)

" The mightier man, the mightier is the thing
" That maketh him honour'd or begets him hate."
(*Lucrece*, 1004.)

What makes him most honoured is mercy :
" 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest : it becomes
" The throned monarch better than his crown."
(*M. of V.*, iv. 2. 188.)

What begets him most hate is falsehood ; and
" Falsehood is worse in kings than beggars."
(*Cymb.*, iii. 6. 13.)

And as eminent men take corruption from a particular fault, and the best men are in their corruption the worst, so " *it is a principle in nature that the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest wine makes the sharpest vinegar.*" (*Life*, v., p. 313.)

" *The turning of wine into vinegar is a kind of putrefaction.*" (*Syl. Syl.*, 898.)

So with the sweet summer flower :—

" The summer's flower is to the summer sweet,
" Though to itself it only live and die ;
" But if that flower with base infection meet,
" The basest weed out-braves his dignity ;
" For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds ;
(*The sweetest wine makes the sharpest vinegar*), and
" Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds."
(*Sonnet*, 94.)

I return once more to Bacon's analysis of the " passions, which are indeed the sicknesses of the mind." (*Life*, ii. p. 7.)

Something has already been said concerning " jealousy,"

" wrath " and " drunkenness," and we now come to the chief causes of seditions, which are " grief " and " discontent."

In the following pages it is my purpose to trace Bacon's hand in three plays which deal with these subjects, and which were not printed before November 1623; namely, *King John*, *King Henry VIII*, and *Coriolanus*.

According to Bacon " envy " means " discontentment," which is a disease in a state " like to infection." (*Essay* ix.) The key-words, therefore, to seek will be " grief," " discontent " and " infection."

Bacon wrote an essay on *Seditions and Troubles*, dated, according to Spedding, 1607–12, but which was not printed during his lifetime. It will be referred to as his " MS. essay."

In 1625 he published a longer essay upon the same subject. This will be referred to as " Essay xv. 1625."

The *MS essay* is now in print, and may be found in *Works* vi (p. 589, 1870 edition). The longer essay begins on page 406 (Spedding and Heath).

For the sake of contrast and brevity I record Bacon and Nashe in italics and Shakespeare in Roman type.

Of all " *passions or sicknesses of the mind* " which are " *like to infection,*" envy is one of the worst.

" *Envy . . . it is the proper attribute of the devil.*"
(*Essay*, ix.)

" And devil envy say amen."
(*Troilus*, ii. 3. 23.)

" *Death alone reconciles envy to virtue.*"
(*De Aug.*, vi. iii., *Exempla Antithetorum.*)

" Here no envy swells,
Here grow no damned grudges; here are no storms,
No noise, but silence and eternal sleep."
(*Titus*, i. 1. 152.)

" No black envy shall mark my grave."
(*H8*, ii. 1. 85.)

" *Envy . . . it is a disease in a state like to infection.*"
(*Essay*, ix.)

It is like the " envious fever " in *Troilus and Cressida*, by which " many are infect." (i. 3. 133. and i. 3. 187.)

" The Greeks . . . full of divisions amongst themselves."
(*Life*, iii., p. 97),

and

" A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever."
(*Works*, vi. p. 450) ;

hence " envious fever."

" This envy, being in the Latin word " invidia," goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment."
(*Essay*, ix) ;

and this discontentment is the cause of tempests in states and quarrelling with obedience, to which we now come.

" Tempests in state " :—

A. *" Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state . . . And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so there are in states."* (*Essay*, xv., 1625.)

Such a tempest there was in the time of King John, and Cardinal Pandulph says,

B. " It was my breath that blew this tempest up."
(*K. John*, v. 1. 17.)

Quarrelling with obedience :—

C. *" That kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected : ' Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari quam exequi.'* (They attended to their duties, but yet were inclined rather to dispute the commands of their rulers than to obey them) *disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and essay of disobedience."* (*Essay*, xv, 1625.)

D. " Our discontented counties do revolt;
Our people quarrel with obedience."
(*K. John*, v. 1. 7.)

E. *" When discords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. And reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof, as one of his great judgements ; Solvam cingula regum* (I will loose the girdles of kings).
(*Essay* xv. ; MS. only, 1612.)

F. "Now happy he whose cloak and cincture can
Hold out this tempest."
(*K. John*, iv. 3. 155.)

G. "*So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shakened or weakened, which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure, men had need to pray for fair weather.*"
(*MS. essay*, 1612; *Works*, vi. p. 589.)

H. "It was my breath that blew this tempest up,
Upon your stubborn usage of the pope;
But since you are a gentle convertite,
My mouth shall hush again this storm of war
And make fair weather in your blustering land."
(*K. John*, v. 1. 17.)

"Blustering" means making a noise like "*hollow blasts of wind*" as in "A" above; in which we see the word "tempest" as we do in "H."

The second line of "H" tells us what "*pillar of government*" was at fault (*Religion*).

The last line of "H" and the last line of "G" contain that "*fair weather*" which "*men had need to pray for*" when there are "*tempests in states.*"

"*Cingula*" in "E" is the plural of *cingulum*; and *cingulum, cinctura, cincture* in "F," and girdle are all one. *Cincture* in "F" and "*cingula* in "E" refer to the same verse in Isaiah. (xlv. 1.)

Disputing and cavilling in "C" is the same as quarrelling; and "quarrel with obedience" in "D" is derived from the same passage in *Tacitus* as in "C." (*Hist.* ii. 39.)

The references to the passage in *Tacitus*, and the verse in Isaiah, occur within the space of fourteen lines in Bacon's MS. essay of seditions; so they do in *King John*, which was not printed before 1623. It follows, therefore, that Bacon could not have seen the printed *King John* before writing his *MS. essay* (1607–12). And as Bacon's printed essay was not published before 1625, it follows that the author of *King John* could not have seen it before writing the last five lines of Act iv. and the first nine lines of Act v. which contain the references to Isaiah and *Tacitus*. Therefore neither could have borrowed from the

other except through the intermediaries of mind or manuscript.

"The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontent." (*MS. Essay.*)

In *King John* it is discontent:

"Our discontented counties do revolt."

"There is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for the common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner."

(*Essay* xv. 1625);

or,

when powers at home and discontents at home meet in one line, as they did in *King Henry VIII.*

But in *King John* we read:

"Now powers from home and discontents at home
Meet in one line." (*K. John*, iv. 3. 151.)

The "powers from home" are the French nobles, and the "discontents at home" are the commonalty in England, already incensed at the murder of Prince Arthur.

Then is the danger when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the water amongst the meaner.

Then "happy he whose cloak and cincture can hold out this tempest." (*K. John*, iv. 3. 155.)

We must now leave *King John* for a while and consider the other two plays which, like *King John*, were not printed before 1623 (First Folio) and of which seditions, caused by griefs and discontents are a theme.

In his printed essay *Of Seditions* Bacon always writes "*griefs*" and "*discontentments*," but in his *MS. Essay* it is either "*griefs*" or "*discontents*" as in *Titus Andronicus*:—

"Dissemble all your griefs and discontents:
You are but newly planted in your throne

Lest, then, the people and patricians too,
Upon a just survey, take Titus' part,
And so supplant you for ingratitude."
(*Titus*, i. 1. 443.)

If " the people and patricians too " had caused trouble and taken Titus' part, we should have had another example of the nobles and the commonalty " meeting in one line."

Of these two portions of subjects the commonalty are the most important in times of " Seditions and Troubles " : therefore

" bid him strive
To gain the love of the commonalty,"
(*H8.* i. 2. 169.)

" 'Tis wonderful
What may be wrought out of their discontent."
(*K. John*, iii. 4. 179.)

" The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter ; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come to his aid : an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the goodwill of the common people." (*Essay XV*, 1625.)

Bacon brings in this Briareus four times in his works ; in his *Exempla Antithetorum, De Aug.*, vi. iii ; in *Essay XXI ;* in *Essay XV*, and again in the *Advancement of Learning*, 1605 ; where, speaking of monarchs, he ends with *" so long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people."* Observe what Richard II did :

" The commons hath he pilled with grievous taxes,
And quite lost their hearts." (*R2*, ii. 1. 246.)

But what did Bolingbroke do ? Even Richard

" Observed his courtship to the common people,
How he did seem to dive into their hearts."
(*Ib.*, i. 4. 24.)

In Richard's case the effect was this :

" The nobles they are fled, the commons cold,
And will, I fear, revolt on Hereford's side."
(*R2*, ii. 2. 88.)

In Bolingbroke's case the result was that "*Eagle-soaring Bullingbrooke, that at his removing of household into banishment (as father Froysard threapes us down) was accompanied with* 40,000 *men, women and children weeping from London to the land's end at Dover.*" (*Nashe*, v. p. 247.)

Bolingbroke courted Briareus, while Richard discarded him; and so, as Richard says, "The mounting Bullingbrooke ascends my throne" (*R2*, v. 1., First Folio); thus we see that Richard's "weaved-up follies" (*R2*, iv. 1. 229) were the cause of his downfall.

"Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,
Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard."
(*Ib.*, ii. 1. 27);

for "*when wit gives place to will and reason to affection, then folly with full sail launcheth forth*" (*Nashe* i, p. 27); and when folly launcheth forth of a man that is in reputation for wisdom and honour it causes his name to stink; even as "*dead flies cause the best ointment to stink.*" (Bacon's *Ecclesiastes* x, 1.)

Briareus appears in all the plays of which seditions are a subject, although he is only mentioned once by name. (*Troilus*, i. 2. 29.)

In *King Henry VIII* the word "discontent" is not used; it is either "grief" or "grievance":

"Your subjects are in great grievance."
(*H8*. i. 2. 19.)

"The subjects' grief comes through commissions, which compel from each the sixth part of his substance, to be levied without delay." (*Ib.*, i. 2. 56.)

"This makes bold mouths."
(*Ib.*, i. 2. 59.)

To understand "bold mouths" we must go back to that passage in *Tacitus*.

After writing "*disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience,*" Bacon adds: "*especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.*" (*Essay XV*, 1625.)

This comes after "*Erant in officio*" (They attended to their duties).

Compare the following :—

Katharine : "This makes bold mouths :
Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze
Allegiance in them ; their curses now
Live where their prayers did ; and it's come to pass,
This tractable obedience is a slave
To each incensed will."

Compare these lines with King John's speech :

"Our discontented counties do revolt ;
Our people quarrel with obedience,
Swearing allegiance and the love of soul
To stranger blood, to foreign royalty."
(*K. John*, v. 1. 9.)

We see in each speech the weakening of home allegiance, and the quarrelling with obedience, which makes it fairly evident that the author of John's speech was also the author of Katharine's, and that both speeches had their origin in *Tacitus*. Further, at the end of each speech, a similar urgency is expressed to have the business attended to, because the disease in the state is desperate ; and "*to desperate diseases must desperate medicines be applied*" (*Nashe* iv. p. 27) ; and, of course, without a moment's delay :

"Then pause not, for the present time's so sick,
That present medicine must be minister'd,
Or overthrow incurable ensues."
(*K. John*, v. 1. 14.)

So in *Henry VIII :*

"I would your highness
Would give it quick consideration, for
There is no primer business."
(*H8*, i. 2. 65.)

"Diseases desperate grown by desperate appliance are relieved, or not at all." (*Hamlet*, iv. 3. 9.)

The "bold mouths" were the poor people who, "Compell'd by hunger and lack of other means" (*H8*, i. 2. 34), spoke *audaciously against the mandates and directions" :—*

" Language unmannerly, yea, such which breaks
The sides of loyalty, and almost appears
In loud rebellion." (*H8*, i. 2. 26.)

In the three plays which treat of seditions, the cause of the latter is always " grief " or " discontent," but the cause of the grief or discontent is very different in *Coriolanus* and *King Henry VIII* from that in *King John ;* and to understand the cause the better we must come to Bacon's *Essay of Envy*. As already stated, " *This envy, being in the Latin word 'invidia,' goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment.*"

" *It is a disease in a state like to infection.*" (*Essay IX*, 1625.) Wolsey and Coriolanus had to contend with the gravest of all infectious diseases, namely, envy or discontentment caused by hunger ; " *for the rebellions of the belly are the worst.*" (*Essay XV*.)

" *Menenius Agrippa among the Romans (a nation at that time by no means learned) quelled a sedition by a fable*" (*Life*, iv. p. 317), and these are the words of Menenius Agrippa in *Coriolanus* :—

" There was a time when all the body's members
Rebell'd against the belly." (*Coriol.*, i. 1. 99.)
" The senators of Rome are this good belly
And you the mutinous members." (*Ib.*, i. 1. 152.)

For the rest of this fable the reader should refer to *Coriolanus* and to Plutarch's *Lives of the noble Greeks and Romans*.

After telling us that " *envy is a disease in a state like to infection,*" Bacon adds, " *for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it, so when envy (discontentment) is gotten once into a state it traduceth even the best actions thereof.*" (*Essay IX*.)

" What we oft do best
By sick interpreters, once weak ones, is
Not ours, or not allow'd ; what worst, as oft,
Hitting a grosser quality, is cried up
For our best act." (*H8*, i. 2. 81.)

And the reason why these sick interpreters cry up the worst acts and traduce the best would appear to be because

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"The lowest virtues gain the praise of the common people, middle ones astonish them, but of the highest they have no sense." (*De Aug.*, vi. iii., *Exempla Antithetorum.*)

"Envy or discontentment" is not the only disease in a state *"like to infection,"* and which *"traduceth even the best actions thereof and turneth them into an ill odour."* (*Essay IX.*) Drunkenness is another. And when this "heavy-headed revel" is gotten once into our state, it traduceth "our achievements" even "though performed at height"; takes the pith and marrow from our attribute (*Ham.*, i. 4); and so, causeth our name to yield an ill odour.

So it is in particular persons. Galba so angered the Roman soldiers that they traduced even his good actions as well as his bad. *"Inviso semel principe, seu bene, seu male, facta premunt."* (*Tacitus, Hist.* i. 7.) (The ruler once in ill odour, his actions good or bad, make him traduced); and, *"if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced, that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, 'Conflata magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.'"* (*Essay XV*, 1625.) (Great discontentment once kindled against him, his actions, good or bad, make him traduced.)

The "sick interpreters" are the same "bold mouths" *"qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari quam exequi"* (*Tacitus, Hist.*, ii. 39); and who traduced and censured Wolsey on account of his "exactions."

Wolsey: "If I am
Traduced by ignorant tongues, which neither know
My faculties nor person, yet will be
The chronicles of my doing . . .
(for "as you know, what great ones do the less will prattle of"—*T.N.*, i. 2. 32)
. . . let me say
'Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake
That virtue must go through. We must not stint
Our necessary actions, in the fear
To cope malicious censurers." (*H8*, i. 2. 71.)

It is the fate of men in great place to be envied by those

beneath them, and "*those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and 'per saltum.'*" (*Essay IX.*)

Henry VII "*did use to raise them by steps; that he might not lose the profits of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.*" (*Hist. Hen. VII—Works III*, p. 41.)

But sometimes "Preferment goes by letter and affection, and not by old gradation." (*Oth.*, i. 1. 37.)

Henry VIII raised Wolsey to the highest elevation; *per saltum*, and certainly not by old gradation:—

Katharine to Wolsey:

"You have by fortune and his highness' favours
Gone slightly o'er low steps." (*H8*, ii. 4. 112.)

And this is what Bacon has to say of men that are raised suddenly, and *per saltum*:—

> "*Qui delicate a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem. Here is signified, that if a man being too high a pitch in his favours, it doth commonly end in unkindness and unthankfulness.*"
>
> (*Prov.* xxix, 21, *Adv.*, ii. 23. 6.)

Henry VIII began too high a pitch in his favours to Wolsey, and it ended in unkindness and unthankfulness. And the same is true of Henry VII, who began too high a pitch in his favours to Sir William Stanley after Bosworth Field; so with Elizabeth and Essex; so with James I and Robert Carr.

For "high a pitch" in Shakespeare we must turn to *Richard II* (i. 1. 109).

If Wolsey had not made himself detested by the nobles, the common people would have had little power against him; but at the time of his speech these "sick interpreters, once weak ones," were now strong, because the nobles were only too ready and willing to help them pull Wolsey down. "*Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters among the meaner,*" or,

When powers at home and discontents at home meet in one line.

As to "the rough brake that virtue must go through":—

A. "*The condition of men eminent for virtue is, as this parable well observes, exceeding hard and miserable, because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked. But as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed; so, in men of eminent virtue, their smallest faults* (*or defects*) *are readily seen, talked of, and severely censured.*"
(*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola* xi. 1623.)

B. "These men
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect . . .
. . . Their virtues else, be they as pure as grace, . . .
. . . Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault." (*Ham.*, i. 4. 30.)

C. "*Whereas in ordinary men they* (these faults or defects) *would be either entirely unnoticed or readily excused.*"

because

D. "Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
As foolery in the wise." (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 75.)

"A" and "C" are continuous, and are parts of Bacon's explanation of Ecclesiastes x. 1.

"B" is from the last 22 lines of Hamlet's pre-ghost speech (Quarto 1604) which are based upon Ecclesiastes x. 1. and *Tacitus*.

"D" was written by a man whose mind was busy with "folly, in wisdom hatch'd," (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 70) which obviously refers to Ecclesiastes x. 1; therefore, beyond all question, "A," "B," "C" and "D" were borrowed from, or inspired by, this same parable.

"*Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner.*" (*Essay IX.*)

Wolsey and Coriolanus were both proud and insolent, and, as we shall see, both argued against giving way to the common people, or even "*speaking fearfully and tenderly for the direction*"; and the reason would appear to be that "*when envy* (*or discontentment*) *is gotten once into a state . . . there is little won by intermingling of plausible*

actions; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy." (*Essay IX.*)

" They tax our policy and call it cowardice."
(*Troilus*, i. 3. 197.)

Therefore " We must not stint
Our necessary actions, in the fear
To cope malicious censurers " ; (*H8.* i. 2. 76.)

for, " If we shall stand still,
In fear our motion will be mock'd or carp'd at,
We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State-statues only." (*Ib.*, i. 2. 85.)

What will the rabble say ?

" ' We did request it ;
We are the greater poll, and in true fear
They gave us our demands.' Thus we debase
The nature of our seats, and make the rabble
Call our cares fears." (*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 133.)

" *Which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.*" (*Essay IX.*)

" So shall my lungs
Coin words till their decay 'gainst those measles,
Which we disdain should tetter us, yet sought
The very way to catch them " (or to call them upon us). (*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 7. 6.)

" I say again,
In soothing them (*by intermingling of plausible actions*) we nourish 'gainst our senate
The cockle* of rebellion, insolence, sedition,
Which we ourselves have plough'd for, sow'd, and scatter'd,
By mingling them with us, the honour'd number."
(*Ib.*, iii. 1. 68.)

Whereas " *the true way is to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings.*" (*Works, VI.* p. 80.)

* " Cockle " ; see kokkos, or coccum ; a berry or seed : seed of rebellion . . . plough'd for, sow'd, and scatter'd.
" Cockle is the grain we reap." (*Nashe*, i. p. 117.)
" Sow'd cockle reap'd no corn." (*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 383.)

And as it is in states, so it is in particular persons; and,

> " If we suffer
> Out of our easiness and childish pity
> To one man's honour, this contagious sickness,
> Farewell all physic: and what follows then?
> Commotions, uproars, with a general taint
> Of the whole state."
>
> (*H8*, v. 3. 24.)

This " measles," " contagious sickness," " with a general taint of the whole state " may be compared with Bacon's " *infection*," " *tainteth* " and " *turneth into an ill odour the best actions of a state.*"

It is interesting to find these happenings (the tainting and corrupting by infection) applied to states, to particular men, and to things in general, not only by Bacon but also by the author, or one of the authors, of the plays; but I have called attention to this in dealing with Ecclesiastes x. 1.

Heresy is another disease in a state " like to infection." The speech just quoted (*H8*, v. 3. 24) is by Gardiner concerning Cranmer, whom he calls

> " A most arch heretic, a pestilence
> That does infect the land." (*H8*, v. 1. 45.)

In the time of James I some people looked upon religious opponents as rank weeds. Bacon, addressing judges in the Star Chamber, says of " *the hollow church-papist; St. Augustine hath a good comparison of such men, affirming that they are like the roots of nettles, which themselves sting not, but yet they bear all the stinging leaves. Let me know of such roots and I will root them out of the country.*"

(*Life*, vi. p. 213.)

Similarly, Gardiner, speaking of Cranmer, says,

> " He's a rank weed, Sir Thomas, and we must root him out." (*H8*, v. 1. 52.)

This to prevent " Commotions, uproars, with a general taint of the whole state."

Similarly, " *Treason . . . a contagion of the heart and soul.*" (*Life*, v. p. 155.)

" A most contagious treason come to light."
(*H5*, iv. 8. 42.)

Coriolanus, the traitor, " is a limb that has but a disease," but

" He's a disease that must be cut away."
(*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 295.)

And because *" infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it."* (*Essay IX.*)

" Pursue him to his house and pluck him thence ;
Lest his infection, being of catching nature,
Spread further." (*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 309) ;

and so, cause a general taint of the whole state.

A gangrenous law is another disease in a state " like to infection."

" Obsolete laws that are grown into disuse,"
(*De Aug.*, viii, iii. 57.)

and " Decrees dead to infliction."
(*Meas.*, i. 3. 28),

are gangrenous things, and unless they be " rooted out " or " cut away " from the general body of the law *" they bring a gangrene, neglect, and habit of disobedience upon other wholesome laws that are fit to be retained in practice and execution."* (*Life*, vi. p. 65.)

" For as an express statute is not regularly abrogated by disuse, it happens that from a contempt of such as are obsolete, the others also lose part of their authority, whence follows that torture of Mezentius, whereby the living laws are killed in the embraces of the dead ones."
(*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 57.)

So, too, " The threatening twigs of birch " stuck " in their children's sight for terror, not to use." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 24) are gangrenous things ; and, because they are not put in execution,

" In time the rod
Becomes more mock'd than feared ; so our decrees,
Dead to infliction, to themselves are dead,
And liberty plucks justice by the nose ;
The baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart
Goes all decorum." (*Ib.*, i. 3. 26.)

"*As posteriores leges priores abrogant, so new judgements avoid the former. The records reverent things, but like scarecrows.*" (*Life*, iv. p. 200.)

"We must not make a scarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape, till custom make it
Their perch and not their terror."
(*Meas.*, ii. 1. 1);

Otherwise we shall have

"Laws for all faults
But faults so countenanced, that the strong statutes
Stand like the forfeits in a barber's shop,
As much in mock as mark." (*Ib.*, v., 1. 321.)

"And turn pre-ordinance and first decree
Into the law of children."
(*J. Cæsar*, iii. 1. 38.)

Therefore "*above all things a gangrene of the law is to be avoided*," (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 57), because the law being once gangrened is no longer respected.

The same is true of the body:—

"The service of the foot
Being once gangrened, is not then respected
For what before it was." (*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 305.)

And if this foot be not cut off, the infection is apt to spread, and the living parts to be killed in the embraces of the dead:

"This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rests sound;
This let alone will all the rest confound."
(*R2*, v. 3. 85.)

The same is true of the putrid flies and the sweet-smelling ointment:—

These fester'd flies cut off, etc.

But this has been dealt with in the chapter relating to Ecclesiastes x. 1.

Chapter V, Part I

BACON-SHAKESPEARE AND PROVERBS, XXIX, 21

This is the proverb which seems to have inspired Bacon when teaching Elizabeth and James how to manage their servants; "that they should be advanced by steps and not by jumps"; and we see in the works of Shakespeare and Bacon what happens when they are raised by jumps and not be steps, or when "preferment goes by letter and affection and not by old gradation." The word "gradation" (rising step by step) was often in Bacon's mind, as may be seen in the following extracts from his works and speeches, in which we see something of the first in the second; of the second in the third; of the third in the fourth; and so on, and all leading up to Proverbs xxix. 21.

(1) "*It must be done per gradus and not per saltum.*"
(*Life*, iv. pp. 371–2).

(2) "*He did use to raise them by steps; that he might not lose the profits of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.*"
(*Works*, vi. p. 41.)

(3) "*And if they should hold on according to the third year's proportion, and not rise on by further gradation your Majesty hath not your end.*"
(*Life*, v. p. 258.)

(4) "*Her Majesty, notwithstanding her proportions, by often gradations and risings had been raised to the highest elevation, yet was pleased to yield unto it.*"
(*Life*, ii. p. 187.)

(5) "*Your Majesty shall see the true proportion of your own favours, so as you may deliver them forth by measure, that they neither cause surfeit nor faintness.*"
(*Life*, i. p. 390.)

This last was intended by Bacon to be recited before Queen Elizabeth in 1595. Twenty-eight years later (13th October, 1623) he published as follows:—

"*Qui delicate a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem.*"

(*De Aug.* viii. ii. and Prov. xxix. 21.)

(He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child, shall afterwards find him wanting in gratitude.)

This is the 18th of Bacon's selected parables in the *De Augmentis*, and his explanation of it tells us what he had in mind while writing No. 5 above :—

"*According to the advice of Solomon, princes and masters ought to keep a measure* (*the Latin word is 'modus'*) *in conferring grace and favour on their servants.*"

"*Is triplex est.*" (This measure is threefold.)

"*Primo, ut promoveantur per gradus, non per saltus.*"

(First, that they be advanced by steps, and not by jumps.)

"*Secundo, ut interdum assuefiant repulsae.*"

(Secondly, that they be accustomed to an occasional denial.)

"*Tertio* (*quod bene praecipit Macciavellus*) *ut habeant prae oculis suis semper aliquid, quo ulterius aspirare possint.*"

(Thirdly (as Machiavelli well advises) that they should have ever before their eyes something further to hope for.)

This, then, is the way to distribute favours "*by measure that they neither cause surfeit nor faintness.*" (*Life*, i p. 390.) In *Twelfth Night* (v. 1. 31) the Duke gives gold to Olivia's servant.

Servant : "But that it would be double-dealing, sir, I would you could make it another."

Duke : "O, you give me ill counsel." (The good counsel of Solomon is that he be accustomed to an occasional denial.)

Servant : Put your grace in your pocket, sir, for this once, and let your flesh and blood obey it."

Duke : "Well, I will be so much a sinner, to be a double-dealer : there's another."

Servant : "Primo, secundo, tertio, is a good play . . . the triplex, sir, is a good tripping measure ; or the

bells of Saint Bennet, sir, may put you in mind: one, two, three."

Duke: "You can fool no more money out of me at this throw."

The servant wishes to be advanced by three successive jumps, and regarding *secundo* the duke gives way, though he admits being a sinner in doing so (sinning against the advice of Solomon); but he draws the line at *tertio*, yet follows the advice of Machiavel by giving the servant something further to hope for:—

Duke: "If you will let your lady know I am here to speak with her, and bring her along with you it may awake my bounty further."

We see much the same in *King Lear* (v. 3. 28), where Edmund says to the Captain:—

"One step I have advanced thee,"

and immediately after, follows the advice of Machiavel, by giving him something further to hope for:

"If thou dost as this instructs thee, thou dost make thy way to noble fortunes."

In dealing with this proverb in the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) Bacon says nothing about *modus, triplex, primo, secundo, tertio*, and it is only when we examine the Latin *De Augmentis* that we notice the difference in the order of the words in *Twelfth Night*—Primo, secundo, tertio, triplex, measure; and that the author is making the duke distribute his favours by measure, that they neither cause surfeit nor faintness.

All Bacon says in the *Advancement of Learning* is this:—"*Here is signified that if a man begin too high a pitch in his favours, it doth commonly end in unkindness and unthankfulness*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 6), the last word seeming to show that he knew the Hebrew version of this proverb; for the Hebrew word means "a thankless man" or "a man wanting in gratitude." In the *De Augmentis*, Bacon says, "*unless these particulars* (primo, secundo, tertio) *be observed, princes in the end will find from their servants disrespect and obstinacy, instead of gratitude and duty.*"

In *Twelfth Night* the servant, in the end, showed no

spark of gratitude, but said, " Let your bounty take a nap, I will awake it anon," so there was neither surfeit nor faintness.

In the 1611 Bible, there is another version of this proverb.

" He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child shall have him become his son *at the length.*

After saving Henry the Seventh's life at Bosworth Field, Sir William Stanley received vast rewards both in riches and honours ; but such was his greed that he became a suitor to the King for the earldom of Chester, thereby wishing to become his son at the length.

" *Blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the King, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected.*"
(*Works*, vi. p. 152, and *Luke*, vi. 38.)

" Thou shalt think
Though he divide the realm and give the half,
It is too little, helping him to all." (*R2*, v. 1. 59.)

On the other hand, " *the King thought that he that could set him up was the more dangerous to pull him down.*"
(*Ib.*, p. 150.)

" And he shall think that thou which know'st the way
To plant unrightful Kings, wilt know again,
Being ne'er so little urg'd, another way
To pluck him headlong from the *usurp'd* throne."
(*R2*, v. 1. 62.)

As to " the usurp'd throne " : " *You know well, that howsoever Henry the Fourth's act by a secret providence of God prevailed, yet it was but a usurpation.*" (*Life*, v. p. 145.)

Just as the Earl of Northumberland helped Henry the Fourth to usurp the throne of Richard the Second, so Sir William Stanley helped Henry the Seventh to displace Richard the Third.

Bacon's record of Bosworth Field and after clearly shews that Henry the Seventh began " *too high a pitch in his favours* " to Stanley, and that it ended " *in unkindness and unthankfulness.*" Bacon, however, does not speak of Stanley's unkindness and unthankfulness, but " *that his*

former benefits were but cheap and lightly regarded by him" (*Works*, vi. p. 152), which is not very different. So far, then, we are left with a faint suspicion that while the author of *Twelfth Night* was writing the *primo, secundo, tertio, triplex* scene he had in mind Proverbs xxix. 21. And this suspicion almost amounts to a certainty when we find a reminder of another of Bacon's selected parables on the same page, which is this :—

"*Qui laudat amicum voce alta, surgendo mane, erit ill loco maledictionis.*" (*De Aug.*, viii, ii, *parabola*, 33.)

"To praise one's friend aloud, rising early, has the same effect as cursing him.)

Duke : "How dost thou, my good fellow ?"
(*T.N.*, v. 1. 11.)

Clo. : "Truly, sir, the better for my foes and the worse for my friends."

Duke : "Just the contrary ; the better for thy friends."

Clo. : "No, sir, the worse."

Duke : "How can that be ?"

Clo. : "Marry, sir, they praise me and make an ass of me ; now my foes tell me plainly that I am an ass : so that by my foes, sir, I profit in the knowledge of myself, and by my friends I am abused."

From this it follows that

"He does me double wrong that wounds me with the flatteries of his tongue." (*R2*, iii. 2. 215.)

After an interview with his foes, Cardinal Wolsey so profited in the knowledge of himself that, at a subsequent meeting with his servant Cromwell, he said, "I know myself now." (*H8*, iii. 2. 378.)

In his explanation of "*Qui laudat amicum*" Bacon says :

"*Immoderate praises procure envy to the person praised.*"

"Your brother . . .
Hath heard your praises, and this night he means
To burn the lodging where you use to lie
And you within it : if he fail of that,
He will have other means to cut you off."
(*As You*, ii. 3. 19.)

"And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him." (Gen., iv. 8.)

But in the play the murder of brother by brother is prevented by the intervention of Adam.

In this same play there is another example of immoderate praises procuring envy to the person praised :—

"But I can tell you that of late this duke
Hath ta'en displeasure 'gainst his gentle niece,
Grounded upon no other argument
But that the people praise her for her virtues."
(i. 2. 289.)

"Well, heaven forgive him! and forgive us all!
Some rise by sin, and some by virtue fall:
Some run from brakes of vice, and answer none:
And some condemned for a fault alone."
(*Meas.*, ii. 1. 37.)

Here, in the last three lines, we have four reminders of Bacon. Let us examine them one by one :—

"Some rise by sin."

"*The rising into place is laborious . . . and it is sometimes base.*" (*Essay XI.*)

"Thou art not noble;
For all the accommodations that thou bear'st
Are nursed by baseness." (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 13.)

"He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend." (*J. Cæsar*, ii. 1. 25.)

And so, "*by indignities men come to dignities.*" (*Essay XI.*)

"And some by virtue fall."

So says Tacitus in his history (i. 2); and, as we shall now see, Bacon in dealing with Ecclesiastes vii. 16., borrows from the same passage in *Tacitus*.

"*Noli esse justus nimium, nec sapientior quam oportet; cur abripiare subito.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii., *parabola* 31.)

(Be not over-virtuous, nor make yourself over-wise; for why should you suddenly bring about your own ruin?)

" There are times, says Tacitus, when great virtues are the surest cause of ruin, and this happens to men eminent for virtue and justice, sometimes suddenly."

If this is the effect of being virtuous, it is no wonder that Adam should say to Orlando :

" Why are you virtuous ?

. . . . . .

Know you not, master, to some kind of men
Their graces serve them but as enemies ?
No more do yours : your virtues, gentle master,
Are sanctified and holy traitors to you.
O, what a world is this, when what is comely
Envenoms him that bears it ! " (*As You*, ii. 3. 5.)

" There is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness." (Eccles. vii. 15.)

" A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others." (*Essay IX.*)

" Whom slew Cain but his just and virtuous brother Abel ? "

. . . *" Throughout the whole course of the Scriptures virtue purchaseth envy, and her possessors never escape briery scratches."* (*Nashe*, iv. p. 59.)

You may go through one of the rough brakes or thickets in England, full of brambles, bracken and briers, and scratch your skin but not your virtue, which can only be scratched by slander, censure or traducement ; and, therefore,

" If I am
Traduced by ignorant tongues . . . let me say
'Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake
That virtue must go through. We must not stint
Our necesary actions, in the fear
To cope malicious censurers." (*H8.* i. 2. 71.)

As to censure and slander :—

" No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape ; back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie up the gall in a slanderous tongue ? "
(*Meas.*, iii. 2. 196.)

This is what Bacon had in mind when he said to Queen Elizabeth: "*You have now Madam obtained victory over two things, which the greatest princes in the world cannot at their wills subdue: the one is over fame,*" by which he means libel or slander. (See *Life*, iii. p. 154, and Bacon's *Essay of Fame.*)

"The rough brake that virtue must go through" is well described by Bacon in his commentary upon Ecclesiastes x. 1. which we shall come to in a moment.

The only way to escape briery scratches is to avoid brakes altogether; and that is why

"Some run from brakes of vice and answer none."

This refers to those who prefer to live a life of contemplation in retirement, free from the snares and temptations of the world; and answerable to none, because they are out of the eye and beyond the reach of men's condemnation or approval. This contemplative life was commended by Aristotle (*Works*, v. p. 8) but condemned by Bacon and Shakespeare on the ground that "*contemplation is a dream*" (*Life*, i. p. 381), and that "*good thoughts . . . are little better than good dreams except they be put in act*" (*Essay XI*); and we read in *King John* (v. 1. 45) "Be great in act as you have been in thought."

Now let us trace

"Some condemned for a fault alone."

"*Ye know the principle of philosophy to be that the corruption or degeneration of the best things is the worst*" and that is why "*in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed*" (Bacon on Ecclesiastes x. 1).

And why

"The more fair and crystal is the sky
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly."
(*R2*, i. 1. 41.)

which in a duller sky would scarcely be noticed.

And why, "in men of eminent virtue, their smallest faults (or defects) are readily seen, talked of, and severly censured, which in ordinary men would be either entirely unnoticed or readily excused." (Bacon on Eccles. x. 1.)

And why

> " These men, carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect . . . shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault." (*Ham.*, i. 4. 30);

even as the sweet-smelling ointment takes corruption from putrid flies.

And why

> " Some (are) condemned for a fault alone."
> (*Meas.*, ii. 1. 40.)

These men " condemned for a fault alone " must of necessity be eminent men, because Bacon and Shakespeare refused to condemn the ordinary man for his faults or defects; and although Ecclesiastes x. 1. does not mention the ordinary man, yet Bacon and Shakespeare in dealing with this parable both introduce him, and both draw a clear distinction between him and the eminent man: Bacon in his commentary (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* xi) as we have just seen above, and Shakespeare in *Lucrece*, where the ordinary man is represented by a little star, a crow, a poor groom, and a gnat; and the eminent man by the moon, the swan, the king, and the eagle; and that is why

> " The Moon being clouded presently is miss'd
> But little stars may hide them when they list."
> (*Lucrece*, 1007.)

And why

> " The crow may bathe his coal-black wings in mire,
> And unperceived fly with the filth away;
> But if the like the snow-white swan desire,
> The stain upon his silver down will stay."

And why

> " Gnats are unnoted wheresoe'er they fly,
> But eagles gaz'd upon with every eye."

And why

" Poor grooms are sightless night, Kings glorious day." Poor grooms are obscure and unnoticed, but kings are in the limelight; and, therefore, at disadvantage " *because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked*," and " as you know what great ones do the less will prattle of."

(*T.N.*, i. 2. 33.) This, then, is "the rough brake that virtue must go through," and why Bacon wrote at the beginning of his "explanation" of Ecclesiastes x. 1. "*The condition of men eminent for virtue is exceedingly hard and miserable, because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked.*

Again :

"*The corruption or degeneration of the best men is the worst.*" (*Life*, vii. p. 171.)

And that is why

"The baser is he coming from a King
To shame his hope with deeds degenerate."
(*Lucrece*, 1002).

And why

"*The King's blood attainted of conspiracy against me is more base than caitiff's or peasant's.*"
(*Nashe*, iv. p. 60.)

And why

"Falsehood is worse in Kings than beggars."
(*Cymb.*, iii. p. 6.)

Again :—

"*Honors make both virtue and vice conspicuous.*"
(*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

And that is why

"The greater man the greater is the thing
Be it good or bad that he shall undertake
(*Ed.*, iii. ii. 2. 434)

And why

"The mightier man the mightier is the thing
That makes him honour'd or begets him hate."
(*Lucrece*, 1004)

And why

"Greatest scandal waits on greatest state."
(*Ib.*, 1006.)

And why

"The dram of eale" (or the little evil of any kind) "haunting a nobleman," "doth all the noble substance

often dout " (or extinguish) " to his own scandal," and therefore to his own loss of reputation.

Looking back at Wolsey's speech (*H8.* i. 2. 71) we see the briers that scratched his virtue were traducers and " malicious censurers," and in the duke's speech in *Measure for Measure* (iii. 2. 196) their names are " censure," " back-wounding calumny " and " the slanderous tongue " ; so in Bacon's commentary upon Ecclesiastes x. 1. it is " *men of eminent virtue* " whose " *smallest fault (or defects) are severely censured* " ; but not so the ordinary man, whose fault or defects " *would be either entirely unnoticed or readily excused* " ; and Shakespeare's reason for this is that

> " Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
> As foolery in the wise." (*L.L.L.*, v. 2. 75) ;

and when Shakespeare wrote these words it is certain that he had Ecclesiastes x. 1. in his mind. How do we know ? Because he has just written " Folly, in wisdom hatch'd," which obviously refers to this parable.

Eminent men may deem themselves fortunate if they escape with a few briery scratches ; for

Shak. : " They that stand high have many blasts to shake them ;
And if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces."
(*R3.* i. 3. 259.)

Then why not retire before the fall ?

Bacon : " *Retire men cannot when they will, neither will they when it were reason.*" (*Essay XI.*)

Shak. : " . . . *The art o' the court,*
As hard to leave as keep ; . . . "
(*Cym.*, iii. 3. 46.)

Bacon : " *The steps of honour are hard to climb . . .* "
(*Antitheta.*)

Shak. : " . . . Whose top to climb
Is certain falling," (*Cym.*, iii. 3. 47.)

Bacon : " *Slippery a-top, and dangerous to go down.*"
(*Antitheta.*)

Shak. : " . . . Or so slippery that
The fear's as bad as falling."
(*Cym.*, iii. 3. 48.)

Bacon : "*The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing.*" (*Essay XI.*)

Shak. : "Which when they fall, as being slippery standers
The love that lean'd on them as slippery too."*
(*Troilus*, iii. 3. 84.)

Shak. : "The great man down, you mark his favourite flies." (*Ham.*, iii. 2. 214.)

Shak. : ". . . For those you make friends
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye." (*H8.* ii. 1. 127.)

Shak. : "When fortune in her shifts and change of mood
Spurns down her late belov'd, all his dependants
Which labour'd after him to the mountain's top
Even on their knees and hands, let him *slip* down,
Not one accompanying his declining foot."
(*Timon*, i. 1. 84.)

Shak. : "O world! thy slippery turns!"
(*Coriol.*, iv. 4. 12.)

Shak. : "O, how wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours!"
(*H8*, iii. 2. 367.)

Shak. : "Poor wretches, that depend
On greatness' favour, dream as I have done;
Wake and find nothing." (*Cym.*, v. 4. 128.)

Bacon : "*Who then to frail mortality shall trust,*
But limns the water, or but writes in dust."
(*Works*, vii. p. 271.)

Nashe : "*Long depending hope frivolously defeated, than which there is no greater misery on earth; and so per consequens no men in earth more miserable than courtiers.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 263.)

Nashe : "*With less suit* (*I assure you*) *is the kingdom of heaven obtained than a suit for a pension or office to an earthly king, which though a man hath* 20

* The origin is Psalm lxxiii, 18 : "Thou didst set them in slippery places ; thou castedst them down to destruction." This applies to the wicked, but Bacon and Shakespeare adapt it to those in high office.

years followed and hath better than three parts and a half of a promise to have confirmed, yet if he have but a quarter of an enemy at court, it is cashiered and non-suited." (*Vol.* iv. p. 153—1593.)

If Bacon had put his name to these quotations from Nashe we could have understood them, because he was a courtier who, like Hamlet, lacked advancement ; and whose enemy at court was Robert Cecil.

We have no evidence that William of Stratford was a courtier. Is it not strange, therefore, that he should write : " The art o' the court, as hard to leave as keep " ?

Again, we have no evidence that Nashe was a courtier. What, then, should he know of their miseries ? What earthly King or Queen had he followed for 20 years ? and what enemy had he at court to check his advancement ?

Bacon had followed an earthly Queen from a child, when she called him " my little lord-keeper " ; certainly from 1573 to 1593, which is the date of publication of the last quotation from Nashe recorded above.

Does not Wolsey's career remind us of Bacon's commentary upon Proverbs xxix. 21, in the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) ?—" *Here is signified that if a man begin too high a pitch in his favours, it doth commonly end in unkindness and unthankfulness.*" He was raised " by jumps and not by steps." The standing was " slippery," and he fell headlong down ; but died, as Bacon would have him die, with a quiet conscience ; but even so to die requires some Resolution.

Bacon : " *Proceeding and resolving in all actions is necessary.*" (*Colour*, iv.)

Bacon : " *Not to resolve is to resolve.*" (*Ib.*)

Shak. : " To be once in doubt is once to be resolved." (*Oth.*, iii. 3. 180.)

Shak. : " I am now going to resolve him." (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 194.)

Shak. : " And now he is resolved to die." (*Ib.*, iii. 2. 262.)

Bacon. : " *There is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die than the quieted conscience.*" (*Essay* " *On Death* ".)

Shak. : " And I feel within me
A peace above all earthly dignities,
A still and quiet conscience.
(*H*8, iii. 2. 378.)

But the unquiet conscience makes us cowards and shakes our resolution with what Bacon calls " sickly uncertainty." (*Essay " On Death."*)

Shak. : " And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sickled o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action."
(*Ham.*, iii. 1. 54.)

" And like a man to double business bound,
I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
And both neglect." (*Ib.*, iii. 3. 41.)

Bacon : " *So the unresolved man executes nothing.*"
(*Colour*, iv.)

What conclusions may we draw from what is recorded in these few pages ? First, we must remember that Bacon's " *triplex, primo, secundo, tertio* " was not published before October 1623 ; neither was his " *Qui laudat amicum,*" nor " *Laudes profusae et immodicae* " ; neither was his " *Noli esse justus nimium* " ; and, as William of Stratford died in 1616, and as men do not read and write after death, it is impossible that he could have borrowed from the " *De Augmentis Scientiarum.*"

As regards Bacon we must remember that " *modus triplex, primo, secundo, tertio* " was in his mind as far back as 1595 (28 years before its appearance in print), when he wrote : " *Your Majesty shall see the true proportion of your favours, so as you may deliver them forth by measure, that they neither cause surfeit nor faintness.*"

The conclusion is, therefore, that Bacon can be traced in *Twelfth Night* by three parables, Proverbs xxix, 21 ; Proverbs xxvii. 14 ; and last but not least by Ecclesiastes x. 1 (*T.N.*, iii. 1. 75) :—

" But wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit," which has already been dealt with.

Chapter V, Part II

BACON, SHAKESPEARE, AND PROVERBS XXV, 26

With two exceptions there is no verse in the Bible which goes farther towards proving that Bacon had a hand in the production of *Richard II* than Proverbs xxv. 26.

In the *Advancement of Learning* (ii. 23, 6—1605) and again in the *De Augmentis* (viii. ii—1623) he writes:

> "*Fons turbatus PEDE, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens coram impio*" (A just man falling before the wicked is like a troubled fountain and a corrupted spring);

but in his *Essay of Judicature* he omits PEDE and adds something of his own:

> "*So saith Solomon, 'Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causa sua coram adversario.'*" (A just man falling before his adversary in his own cause is, etc.)

In *Measure for Measure* we find Shakespeare making use of both forms. The duke allows Angelo to be a judge *in causa sua* ("Be you judge of your own cause,"—v. 1. 167) and soon after pulls him down both *coram adversario* (Isabel) and *coram impio* (the wicked citizens of Vienna, "Where I have seen corruption boil and bubble till it o'errun the stew"—v. 1. 320).

When Bacon omits PEDE he deals with the law; but when he does not he deals with the mud in the fountain stirred by the feet of cattle.

In *Richard II* (v. 3) there is a speech of eight lines by Bolingbroke followed by one of seven lines by York. The first brings in the muddy part, and the second the legal part:

Bolingbroke:

O heinous, strong and bold conspiracy!
A { O loyal father of a treacherous son!
Thou sheer, immaculate and silver fountain,
From whence the stream, through MUDDY passages,
Hath HAD his current, and defileth himself!

Thy overflow of good converts to bad,
B { And thy abundant goodness shall excuse
This deadly blot in thy digressing son.

York :

B { So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd ;
And he shall spend mine honour with his shame,
As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.
Mine honour lives when his dishonour lies :
Or my shamed life in his dishonour lies :
A { Thou kill'st me in his life, giving him breath,
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death.

The lines in the A brackets are derived from Bacon's explanation of Proverbs xxv. 26. and those in the B brackets are derived from his explanation of Proverbs xii. 10. Each man is, therefore, drawing from the same two proverbs, A and B. The one begins with A and ends with B ; and the other begins with B and ends with A, so that each man is running the same two proverbs together, like a pair of horses in double harness.

It is clear that Bolingbroke, in his last two lines, is arguing in favour of mercy ; and it is equally clear that York in his first line is arguing against it. How, then, can each man draw upon the same proverb ; the one to argue for, and the other to argue against ? It is because Bacon and Shakespeare, out of more than 30,000 verses in the Bible, picked out Proverbs xii. 10, as being the only one that argues for and against mercy ; and this is Bacon's version of it : *" Justus miseretur animae jumenti sui ; sed misericordiae impiorum crudeles "* (A just man is merciful to the life of his beast ; but the mercies of the wicked are cruel. *De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* 14), which we shall come to later.

First, let us examine Bacon's legal explanation of Proverbs xxv. 26, which for convenience may be split into three parts : X, Y and Z.

X.

Bacon : " This parable teaches that the passing of an unjust and scandalous sentence in any grave and weighty cause is above all things to be avoided in a state ; especially where not only is the guilty acquitted but

the innocent condemned." (*De Aug.*, viii. ii, *parabola* 25.)

There are four examples of this in the plays. In *Richard II* (v. 3) York and Bolingbroke are discussing a cause of life and death, which is indeed a grave and weighty cause. York wishes Bolingbroke to pass a just sentence upon Rutland, the traitor, because

Shak.: "Thou kill'st me in his life, giving him breath.
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death."

And what is this but the acquittal of the guilty and the condemnation of the innocent?

Y.

Bacon: "*Particular injuries passing unpunished do indeed trouble and pollute the clear waters of justice, but only in the streamlets; whereas unjust and great public sentences such as we spoke of, which are afterwards drawn into precedents (a quibus exempla petuntur) infect and defile the very fountain of justice*";

and if you infect and defile the fountain you also infect the streams that flow from that fountain, because

Shak.: "'Twill be recorded for a precedent
And many an error by the same example
Will rush into the state." (*Merch.*, iv. 1. 220.)

This is Portia's answer to Bassanio, who has just put Jason's proposition before her in "a grave and weighty cause":

Bacon: "*Jason of Thessalia used to say, some things must be done unjustly, that many more may be done justly. But the answer is ready,—Present justice is in our power, but of future justice we have no security: let men pursue those things which are good and just at present, and leave futurity to Divine providence.*" (*De Aug.*, vii. ii.)

Bassanio to Portia:

Shak.: "Wrest once the law to your authority;
To do a great right do a little wrong."
(*Merch.*, iv. 1. 215.)

Portia to Bassanio:

Shak.: "It must not be. There is no power in Venice
Can alter a decree established;"
for when once the law has been fixed and established and exposed to public view "*no court of equity should have the right to decree contrary to a statute under any pretext of equity whatever,*
Bacon: *otherwise the judge would become the legislator, and have all things dependent upon his will.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 44);
Shak.: "Bidding the law make court'sy to (his) will;
Hooking both right and wrong to the appetite."
(*Meas.*, ii. 4. 175.)

So in *Henry VIII*:

Henry: "We must not rend our subjects from our laws
And stick them in our will." (*H8*, i. 2. 93);
Bidding the law make court'sy to (our) will:
Henry: "Have you a precedent of this commission?
I believe not any."

Very well, then, as Portia says,

"'Twill be recorded for a precedent,
And many an error by the same example
Will rush into the state."

And from this we conclude that an unjust law is a disease in a state "like to infection," just as Bacon says:

"*Envy is a disease in a state like to infection.*"
(*Essay IX*—1625.)

Z.

The last words of Bacon's legal explanation of Proverbs xxv. 26. are:

Bacon: "*For when once the court goes on the side of injustice the law becomes a public robber and one man simply a wolf to another.*"

because

Shak.: "Thieves for their robbery have authority
When judges steal themselves."
(*Meas.*, ii. 2. 176.)

It would seem that Bacon had the remarkable faculty of

scattering his opinions about in the plays, like the loose pieces of a jig-saw puzzle ; so that if you take a passage from his prose, you must have the plays spread out before you, like a map of the counties of England, and pick out your pieces and put them into their proper places so as to make a continuous narrative. Of the pieces picked out above, the first is an example of " X " ; the second is a reason for " Y," and the third is a reason for " Z " ; and these pieces are all selected from those parts of the plays where a discussion or argument is proceeding about " a grave and weighty cause " : a cause of life and death. The gravity of the discussion between Isabel and Angelo is seen in this one sentence :

" O let her brother live,"

then follows,

" Thieves for their robbery have authority
When judges steal themselves."

We now come to the muddy part of Proverbs xxv. 26. If a just man falling before the wicked is like a troubled fountain and a corrupted spring, his mind must be muddy and unsettled ; for when cattle come to drink from a pond that feeds a stream their feet stir up the mud, which in turn infects and corrupts the stream, and this is the origin of " *Fons turbatus PEDE et vena corrupta* " of Proverbs xxv. 26.

Bacon, as his manner was ever to teach and instruct by analogies, applies the figure of the fountain and stream to laws and to men ; for as there are in nature certain fountains whence all currents of water are derived but as streams ; so he says,

" *There are in nature certain fountains of justice whence all civil laws are derived but as streams.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 23. 49.)

Again, he thought that there were certain fountains whence all men were derived but as streams :—

" O loyal father of a treacherous son !
Thou sheer, immaculate and silver fountain !
From whence this stream, through MUDDY passages,
Hath HAD his current, and defil'd himself ! "
(*R2.* v. 3. 64.)

I quote from the first folio (spelling modernised) because many editions of *Richard II* substitute "HELD" for "HAD" in the last line, which does not improve the sense.

The silver fountain is the Duke of York, "from whence this stream (Rutland) . . . hath HAD his current." The word "had" means "derived" as in "whence all civil laws are derived but as streams."

As a man takes no active part in his own birth, he cannot, in this, defile himself; nor can his defilement come from an immaculate and silver fountain. It must therefore come from the "MUDDY passages," which can be no other than the mother. Hear what she says to the "loyal father of a treacherous son."

> "But now I know thy mind; thou dost suspect
> That I have been disloyal to thy bed,
> And that he is a bastard, not thy son."
> (*R2*, v. 2. 104.)

So in *Measure for Measure*, where we are told that Claudio is the son of "a most noble father" (ii. 1. 17). Isabel could not understand how this most noble father could beget so base a son, and again the mother is suspected :—

> "Heaven shield my mother play'd my father fair;
> For such a warped slip of wilderness
> Ne'er issued from his blood." (iii. 1. 141.)

Shak.: "Roses have thorns and silver fountains mud."
(*Sonnet*, 35.)

And this mud may be stirred and the waters troubled (1) by a tempest of wind, (2) by the feet of cattle, or (3) by "the toad ugly and venomous." (*As You*, ii. 1. 13.)

But

Shak.: "Why should toads infect fair founts with venom mud?" (*Lucrece*, 580);

so that the fount is no longer a pure silver spring?

Nashe: "*The fount of my tears (troubled and MUDDED with a toad-like stirring and long-breathed VEXATION of thy venomous enormities) is no longer a pure silver spring.*" (*Vol.* iv. p. 52.)

As to mud and vexation :—

Shak.: "Dost think I am so MUDDY, so unsettled,
To appoint myself in this VEXATION . . .
. . . Without ripe moving to't?"
(*W. Tale*, i. 2. 326.)

There are many sicknesses of the mind which cause vexation:—

Bacon: "*They tax your people an redimendam VEXATIONEM: imposing upon them and extorting from them divers sums of money.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 184.)

Shak.: "Compel from each the sixth part of his substance, to be levied without delay." (*H8*, i. 2. 57.)

Whatever the cause of vexation may be, the effect is this:—

Shak.: "The people MUDDIED, thick and unwholesome in their thoughts." (*Ham.*, iv. 5. 81.)
"Unwholesome" means "dangerous," as in *Henry VIII.* (i. 2. 26.)

Shak.: where the people "are all in uproar and DANGER serves among them."

And that is why Katharine says to Wolsey,

Shak.: "But you frame things . . . which are not wholesome." (*H8*, i. 2. 45.)
According to Bacon a wholesome law is one that does not cause discontentment among the people, and is therefore no danger to the crown or state; and a decree which is not wholesome is one that creates the exact opposite conditions, which is what Wolsey did. (*Life*, i. p. 223.)

Bacon: Vexation caused by "*griefs and discontents*" is the breeder of "*Seditions and Troubles*" and "*the Troubling of the Waters*":— (*Essay* 15.)

Bacon: "*There is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is DISCONTENT, the danger is not great; for the common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves; then is the*

danger when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner."
(*Essay*, xv. 1925.)

Nashe: "*DISCONTENT also in dreams hath no little predominance, for even as from water that is troubled, the MUD dispersingly ascendeth from the bottom to the top; so when our blood is chafed, disquieted and troubled, all the light imperfect humours of our body, ascend like MUD up aloft into the head.*"
(*Vol.* iii. p. 237.)

This is what troubled Achilles when he said,

Shak.: "My mind is troubled like a fountain stirr'd."
(*Troilus*, iii. 3. 311.)

And we all know that

Shak.: "A woman moved is like a fountain troubled,
MUDDY, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty."
Shrew, v. 2. 142);

And, as we have seen above,

Shak.: "The people MUDDIED, thick and unwholesome in their thoughts."

Nashe: "*So troubledly BEMUDDED with grief and care*" (*Vol.* v. p. 233.)

Nashe's "fount . . . is no longer a pure silver spring," because it is "*troubled and MUDDED, with a toadlike stirring*"; and Shakespeare's "sheer, immaculate and silver fountain, from whence this stream . . . hath had his current" is no longer a pure silver stream, because of the "MUDDY passages" it has had to go through. Then

Shak.: "MUD not the fountain that gave drink to thee;
Mar not the thing that cannot be amended,"
(*Lucrece*, 577.)

Nashe is full of the "*Fons turbatus*":—

Nashe: "*Their hands troubled and soiled more water with washing, than the camel doth, that nere drinks till the whole stream is troubled.*" (*Vol.* v. p. 38.)

Again:—

Nashe: "*They vomit up ink to trouble the waters.*"
(*Vol.* i. p. 115.)

In his *Natural History* Bacon has drugs for making the

Bacon : "*spirits a little more gross and MUDDY.*"
(*Syl. Syl.*, 954.)

And in the next experiment he says,

Bacon : "*As if you should prescribe a servant about a sick person . . . when his master is fast asleep, to use such a root, or such a root. For imagination is like to work better upon sleeping men than men awake ; as we shall show when we handle dreams.*"
(*Syl., Syl.*, 955.)

The author of the "Dream" must have had the same in mind when he wrote,

Shak. : "The juice of it on sleeping eye-lids laid
Will make a man or woman madly dote."
(*Dream*, ii. 1. 170.)

Therefore,

Shak. : "I'll watch Titania when she is asleep
And drop the liquor of it in her eyes."
(*Ib.*, ii. 1. 176.)

And we know that her spirits became "a little more gross and muddy."

Bacon also has drugs "*to repress or stay vapours that ASCEND to the brain*" (*Syl. Syl.*, 977) ; or, as Nashe says, "*ASCEND like mud up aloft into the head.*" *Vol.* iii. p. 237), and again Bacon has drugs "*which send or draw vapours to the head.*" (*Syl. Syl.*, 977) :—

Bacon : "*It is certain that ointments do all . . . by stopping the pores, shut in the vapours and send them to the head extremely. And for the particular ingredients of those magical ointments, it is like they are opiates and soporiferous* (such as, "poppy, mandragora" and "the drowsy syrups of the world"—*Oth.*, iii. 3. 330). *And if any man say that this effect would be better done by inward potions ; answer may be made, that the medicines that go to the ointments are so strong that if they were used inwardly they would kill those that use them.*" (*Syl. Syl.*, 903.)

In the case of Hamlet's father, the medicine gained

access to " the natural gates and alleys of the body " and killed him. In the *Dream* the juice was laid on sleeping eyelids, and did not kill; but Shakespeare was such a skilled physician, that he was able to give the friar just enough medicine to make Juliet look like death, but not to kill; but all this stuff is feigned; for no drug ever has been nor ever will be found to produce an " instant tetter," with " vile and loathsome crusts."

" Whatever wound did heal but by degrees ? "

So we may ask regarding our skin. Whatever crust did form but by degrees ?

It would be interesting to know in which of our counties " tetter " is now most commonly used. It is still quite common in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire.

The Latin word " *vena* " in Proverbs xxv. 26, means a stream, but when applied to our anatomy it means a vein; and it is interesting to note that Bacon while reminding King James of his origin makes use of both English equivalents :—

Bacon : " *Your Majesty's royal person being a noble confluence of streams and veins wherein the royal blood of many kingdoms are met and united.*" *Life*, iii. pp. 181–2) ;

The author of *Richard II* employed the same idea for the origin of Aumerle (Rutland) in the lines of Bolingbroke previously quoted :—

" O, loyal father of a treacherous son ;
Thou sheer, immaculate and silver fountain
From whence the stream, through muddy passages,
Hath had his current."

It would, indeed, have been strange if two men, and particularly two men so wide apart in their respective social positions, lives, and occupations as Bacon and the " base and common fellow " of the playhouse, should have thought of the same three analogies between fountains of water, fountains of justice, and fountains of ancestry.

Again, in *Richard II* (iii. 3. 107) we have

Shak. : " And by the royalties of both your bloods,
Currents that spring from one most gracious head."

Currents of blood do not spring from the head, unless it be from the fountain-head, which is the heart :—

Shak.: " My heart . . . the fountain from the which my current runs." (*Oth.*, iv. 2. 59.)

Compare also :

Shak.: " the immaculate and silver fountain, from whence this stream . . . hath had his current," and

Bacon: " *The troubled fountain of a corrupt heart.*" (*Life*, vii. p. 226.)

Let us now return to " A just man is merciful to the life of his beast ; but the mercies of the wicked are cruel." (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* 14.)

There is no doubt whatever that Bacon and Shakespeare regarded the first part of this proverb as designed to guard the safety of the person ; and the second part to guard the safety of the state.

Regarding the first part Bacon says :

Bacon: " *This compassion* (to brutes) *has some resemblance to that of a prince towards his subjects.*"

Shak.: " 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest ; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown."
(*Merch.*, v. 1. 188.)

And, says Bacon,

Bacon: " *In causes of life and death judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy.*" (*Essay*, 56.)

Shak.: " Yes ; I do think that you might pardon him,
And neither heaven nor man grieve at the mercy." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 50.)

This first part of the proverb is more fully dealt with in an earlier portion of this book ; but it is the second part which guards the safety of the state from such grave crimes as murder, treason and heresy, that concerns us now.

No play has more to do with the proverb than *Measure for Measure*, and just as Bolingbroke and York draw upon it—the one to argue for and the other to argue against mercy ; so Isabel, when arguing with Angelo uses the first part, in which mercy is a virtue ; and in arguing with

Claudio she uses the second part, in which mercy is a vice ; and Bacon shall now tell us why it is a vice :—

> " *Solomon wisely adds that ' the mercies of the wicked are cruel.' Such is the sparing to use the sword of justice upon wicked and guilty men ; for this kind of mercy is the greatest of all cruelties, as cruelty affects but particular persons* (such as the traitor or murderer) ; *whereas impunity to crime arms and lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent.*"
>
> (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* 14.)

This is the reason why Isabel says to Claudio,

> " Mercy to thee would prove itself a bawd."
>
> (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 149.)

And why York says to Bolingbroke,

> " So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd " ;

for

> " If thou do pardon whosoever pray
> More sins for this forgiveness prosper may."
>
> (*R2*, v. 3. 83.)

On the other hand,

Shak. : " This fester'd joint cut off the rest rests sound,
This let alone will all the rest confound."

(*Ib.*, v. 3. 85.)

If the festered joint (Rutland, the traitor) be cut off with the sword of justice, the rest of the body politic remains sound ; this let alone (*impunity*) will all the rest confound, by encouraging sedition and " *letting loose the whole army of rebels.*"

This is also why Scroope says,

Shak. : " Let him be punished, sovereign, lest example
Breed, by his sufferance, more of such a kind."

(*H5*, ii. 2. 45.)

And why Lucrece says

Shak. : " Let the traitor die
For sparing justice feeds iniquity."

(*Lucrece*, 1687.)

It is also the reason why the first senator says,

Shak.: " 'Tis necessary he should die;"
for " Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy."
(*Timon*, iii. 5. 2.)

And why the prince says,

Shak.: " Mercy but murders pardoning those that kill."
(*Romeo*, iii. 1. 202.)

Shak.: " For we bid this be done,
When evil deeds have their permissive pass
And not the punishment." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 37.)

It is also the reason why Gardiner says to Lovel,

" He's a rank weed, Sir Thomas,
And we must root him out." (*H8*, v. 1. 52);

for

" If we suffer,
Out of our easiness and childish pity
To one man's honour, this contagious sickness,
Farewell all physic: and what follows then?
Commotions, uproars, with a general taint
Of the whole state." (*H8*, v. 3. 24.)

Again, it is the reason why Sicinius says,

Shak.: " He's a disease that must be cut away."
(*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 295.)

And because

Bacon: " *Infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it.*" (*Essay* 9.)

Brutus says,

Shak.: " Pursue him to his house, and pluck him thence;
Lest his infection, being of catching nature,
Spread further," and so cause " a general taint
of the whole state." (*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 309.)

It is just this " general taint of the whole state " that Bacon had in mind when he wrote the last sentence of his explanation of the second part of Proverbs xii, 10:—

" *Impunity to crime arms and lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent*";

And, as he says elsewhere,

"*Salus populi est suprema lex*" (The best law is that which guards the safety of the people.)

(*Life*, iii. p. 383.)

And this is the principle at the back of all the above reasons and arguments; namely, to punish severely the graver sort of crimes to prevent a general taint of the whole state.

"For we bid this be done,
When evil deeds have their permissive pass
And not the punishment." (*Meas.*, i. 3. 37.)

And the key to all this is DISCIPLINE;

for

"Those many had not dar'd to do that evil,
If the first that did the edict infringe
Had answer'd for his deed." (*Meas.*, ii. 2. 91.)

In deciding the authorship of the speeches of Bolingbroke and York it is well to remember that Bacon's explanations of Proverbs xxv. 26. and Proverbs xii. 10, were not published before the 13th of October, 1623, by which time all the reputed authors of the plays were dead and buried; except Francis Bacon; and, without reading Bacon first, it is doubtful whether his two versions of the "*Fons turbatus*" would have been noticed in *Measure for Measure*; namely, "*Coram impio*," and "*in causa sua coram adversario*." And it is equally doubtful whether, while reading the plays, we should have noticed that Shakespeare gave examples of, or reasons for, every item of Bacon's legal explanation of the proverb.

Again, but for Bacon's attractive analogies between fountains of water and fountains of justice: the clear waters of the one, troubled and mudded by the feet of cattle, and the other where "*private injuries passing unpunished do indeed trouble and pollute the clear waters of justice*" (see under letter Y above) we might not have noticed the muddy part of the proverb in Bolingbroke's lines; and although we all notice the repetitions of parts of *Measure for Measure* in *Richard II*, where Bolingbroke takes the part of Isabel, who takes her stand upon the first part of Proverbs xii. 10, in which mercy is a virtue, and seeks to guard the safety of the person; and York takes

the part of Angelo who takes his stand upon the second part of the proverb, in which mercy is a vice, because, as Bacon says,

> *" impunity to crime arms and lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent " ;*

and, therefore, does not guard the safety of the state, which is the people ; and if any man should say that Claudio's offence was not a danger to the state let him read Pompey's speech (ii. 1. 251) ; for the man who wrote that speech knew as well as Bacon that in making laws for a city or state it was most essential to know the nature of the people, lest a common offence should be made capital, in which case there would be few people left ; and, therefore, while writing the play, he makes Escalus a common law judge because he knew the nature of the people. (*Meas.*, i. 1. 10. and *Adv.*, ii. 23. 48 ; *World's Classics*, Oxford, 1029.)

Again, the law in Vienna for Claudio's offence was death. It had slept for fourteen years but had not been repealed ; so that Angelo was justified in saying to Isabel,

> " The law hath not been dead though it hath slept." (ii. 2. 90.)

And when she says,

> " Yet show some pity." (ii. 2. 99.)

Angelo's reply is exactly Bacon's :—

> " I show it most of all when I show justice ;
> For then I pity those I do not know,
> Which a dismissed offence would, after gall,
> And do him right that, answering one foul wrong,
> Lives not to act another." (ii. 2. 100.)

If I harden my heart and show justice towards your brother (*the particular person*) and do him right that, answering one foul wrong, lives not to act another (i.e., if he be cut off with the *sword of justice*, why then I pity those I do not know, i.e., the innocent people, which a dismissed offence (*impunity*) would after gall (by *" letting loose the whole army of evil doers "* upon them).

There is one more line in York's speech—the last in the following quotations, which are recorded here to show how much Nashe and Shakespeare thought alike :—

Shak.: " My rights and royalties
Plucked from my arms perforce, and given away
To upstart unthrifts." (*R2*, ii. 3. 120.)

Nashe: " *So unto unthrifts rich men leave their lands,*
Who in an hour consume long labours gains."
(*Vol.* vi. 0. 92.)

Shak.: " As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.
(York's speech.)

We have now traced Bacon in *Richard II*, twice by his explanation of Ecclesiastes x. 1; twice by his explanation of Proverbs xii. 10; twice by his explanation of Proverbs xxv, 26, and twice by his explanation of Proverbs xxix. 21; and as these explanations were not published before October, 1623, and as men do not read and write after death, it is not possible that *Richard II* could have been written by any other than Francis Bacon, and if he wrote *Richard II* he also wrote *Measure for Measure* and *Hamlet;* for no man denies that the author of the one was also the author of the other two.

Chapter VI

BACON, SHAKESPEARE AND NASHE

Earlier in this book I have recorded quotations from Bacon and "Shakespeare" showing their interest in "slippery standers." Two of them were as follows:—

"*The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing.*" (*Essay* xi.)

"Which when they fall as being slippery standers,
The love that lean'd on them is slippery too."
(*Troilus*, iii. 3. 84.)

As to an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing:—

Bacon seems to have regarded the fall from power, or the death of a person "of great place," as an eclipse. He writes to Queen Elizabeth "*that I never live to see any eclipse of your glory.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 160.)

Writing of another queen of the same name (one of the foundresses of Queens' College, Cambridge) he says, "*She has ENDURED a strange eclipse.*" (*Hist., Hen. VII.*) After the death of Queen Elizabeth the 107th sonnet was written, and the author of it tells us,

> "The mortal moon hath her eclipse ENDURED;" for "Men" (and women too) "must ENDURE their going hence even as their coming hither."
>
> (*Lear*, v. 2. 9.)

If anyone wishes to understand this sonnet he should read "The Beginning of the History of Great Britain." (*Works*, vi. p. 276 sq.)

> "As an account of the temper of men's minds at James's entrance, it is complete; and in my judgement one of the best things in its kind that Bacon ever wrote."
>
> (Spedding.)

It is certainly more complete than the first paragraph of the prefatory epistle to James in the A.V. Bible of 1611, which is like Bacon in style; and where Elizabeth is not "the mortal moon," but the "Occidental Star":—"That upon the setting of that bright Occidental Star,* Queen Elizabeth of most happy memory some thick and palpable clouds of darkness" ("*Like the Egyptian darkness, a gross and palpable darkness that may be felt,*"—Bacon, *Life*, v. p. 303) "would so have over-shadowed this land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk" (Bible letter); ("More puzzled than the Egyptians in their fog,"—*T. Night*, iv. 2. 48.) "And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to them." (Exod., xiv. 20.)

Not only were there "thick and palpable clouds of darkness" at the end of Elizabeth's life, but also a "cloud of darkness" at the beginning; thus: "When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness" (*Baptism of Elizabeth, H8.* v. 5. 45.) But there is no "palpable darkness" here; indeed, the word "palpable" com-

* "My father's dead."
"Heavens make a star of him *" (*Pericles*, v. 3. 69.)

bined with "darkness" is not easy to find. I cannot find it in the A.V. Bible, nor in the plays. Where, then, do Bacon and the author of the Bible letter fetch the word "palpable" from? And how came Nashe to write "*that palpable darkness*" (*Vol.* i. p. 156, Grosart)? Surely they must have fetched it from "palpari" in the Latin Bible (Exod. x. 21)—"*sint tenebrae super terram Egypti tam densae ut palpari queant.*" (That there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt." (A.V. Bible); but it is even more certain that "sick interpreters" (*H8.* i. 2. 82.) was borrowed from *interpretari* in *Tacitus* (*Hist.* ii. 39.) The passage in *Tacitus* is misquoted by Bacon in his 15th *Essay*, and I have dealt with it elsewhere.

"Gross and palpable" is common enough in Bacon's works and also in the plays; and Nashe writes, "*Because they cannot grossly palpabrize or feel God with their bodily fingers, confidently and grossly discard him*" (*Vol.* iv. p. 174).

When Gloucester lost his eyes and was in complete darkness, Lear said to him, "Yet you see how the world goes;" and Gloucester replied, "I see it feelingly" (*Lear*, iv. 6. 152); for he, like other blind men, must palpabrize his way with a stick. The real Nashe died in 1601, and therefore could not have written the Bible letter; so Bacon is left as the most probable author of it. Nor ought we to think this strange, for it was well known to the nobles and bishops that when members of parliament wished to send a petition to King James they employed Bacon to frame it for them; and the bishops must have known that Bacon's name stood first in the list of those who were to revise the book of Common Prayer in 1604* (*Life*, iii. p. 177); and when the translation of the Bible was completed in 1610 it was presented to James, but not published till a year later. At that time Bacon was the King's right-hand man and was said to be "the mark and acme of our language," (Ben Jonson's *Discoveries*, p. 38). It seems

* For the book of Common Prayer a sub-Committee (in the list of which Bacon's name stands first) was appointed to "Capitulate the alterations" and lay them before the committee in writing, "together with their own opinion of the said book." (*Life*, iii. p. 177.)

natural, then, that James should hand the translation to Bacon. This would account for "thick and palpable clouds of darkness" in place of "*gross and palpable darkness*," and when we meet with "Incline thine ear," as we often do in the A.V. Bible, it reminds us of "Dear Isabel . . . if you'll a willing ear incline" (*Meas.*, v. 1. 450).

There are more than 200 reminders of Bacon in *Measure for Measure*, and that the author of this play borrowed from Bacon's explanations of Proverbs xii. 10, and Ecclesiastes x. 1, is so obvious that a schoolboy can detect it; and as Bacon's explanations of these parables were not published before the 13th of October 1623 (*De Aug.*, viii. ii.), by which time *Measure for Measure* was in the hands of the printers of the "First Folio," it follows that the author of the play could not have seen the printed *De Augmentis* in time to make use of it. The only man that can borrow from a book before it is printed is the author of the book; and as the author of the book was Francis Bacon, he must of necessity be the author of the play. William of Stratford died seven and a half years before the *De Augmentis* was published; and as men do not read and write after death, it follows that he could not have written *Measure for Measure*. If it were true that William of Stratford graced Ulysses' speeches in *Troilus and Cressida* with the "*apparel of words*" which has been put upon them, we should have thought that he of all others would have been called upon to grace the book of *Common Prayer* in 1604, and the Bible in 1611. What is it that makes the A.V. Bible more acceptable to so many old people to-day than the Revised Version which is more correct? It surely is because of the "apparel of words" which has been put upon it.

Bacon, "Shakespeare" and Nashe knew the Bible from beginning to end. Each thought they could, and did, teach the bishops how to make use of it. There are scores of passages in the plays which bring in the Bible, but nobody has ever yet discovered them without reading Bacon or Nashe or both. Ask any man who thinks he knows *Richard II*, how many times the author brings in Proverbs xxv. 26; how many times Proverbs xii. 10; how many times Ecclesiastes x. 1; how many times Proverbs xxix.

21 ; and he will not be able to tell you unless he has read with attention the works of Nashe but more especially the works of Bacon. When he has done this he will discover for himself without the help of any other man that Bacon was the principal author of the plays, and may come to the same conclusion as Ben Jonson who writes of Bacon thus : " But I have, and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that hath been in many ages " (*Discoveries*, p. 38).

But I wander away from Egypt where I wish to stay a little longer. Bacon speaks of " *Our sea-walls and good shipping* " (*Life*, ii. p. 89), and " Shakespeare " writes of " Our sea-walled garden, the whole land " (*R2.* iii. 4. 43), and Nashe writes, " *Say thou art walled with seas, how easy are thy walls overcome* " (iv. pp. 171–2) ; " and the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground ; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left " (Exod. xiv. 22). Certainly Bacon's " *Egyptian darkness*," and Shakespeare's " *Egyptians in in their fog* " are borrowed from the same source, and this may be true of their " sea-walls " also.

Now let us return to the 107th sonnet. " My truelove " probably refers to Bacon's work, which he thought would be ended by a civil war ; but when the prophets at home and abroad proved wrong and peace came instead of war, he thought he might continue his true love and make his name live for ever, but of this see later. Bacon is by far the best describer of the 107th sonnet ; indeed, there is scarcely a line in it that cannot be accounted for in his writings; and all the passages quoted above, which contain " slippery," " eclipse," " palpable darkness " and " sea-walls " I attribute to the same man writing under those three different names which you will find on the outside sheet of the famous Northumberland MSS.—Bacon, Shakespeare and Nashe, about which I shall now give further evidence.

VIRTUE AND CUNNING

The words " virtue and cunning " were written by Caxton concerning John Tiptoft earl of Worcester who wandered

during the reign of Henry VI in search of learning to Italy, had studied in her universities, and became a teacher at Padua, where the elegance of his Latinity drew tears from one of the most learned of the popes, Pius the Second.

Caxton can find no words warm enough to express his admiration of one which in his time "flowered in virtue and cunning" . . . "when I remember . . . his science and his moral virtue, me thinketh over great a loss of such a man considering his estate and cunning." (Green's *Hist. Eng. People*, p. 292). Clearly cunning means learning and knowledge procured by the Earl's own virtue and industry; and

Bacon: "*What is procured by our own virtue and industry is greater good; and what by another's or the gift of fortune a less.*" (Bacon's *Sophism* xi. *De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

The reasons are that:—

(A.) "*In the gifts of fortune, there is no great certainty but our own virtue and abilities are always with us.*" (*Ib.*)

Shak.: "Learning is but an adjunct to ourself
And where we are our learning likewise is."
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 314.)

and that is why

Shak.: "I hold it ever
Virtue and cunning were endowments greater
Than nobleness and riches; careless heirs
May the two latter darken and expend;
But immortality attends the former
Making a man a god." (*Pericles*, iii. 2. 26.)

Nashe holds the same opinion, for he writes of those "*whom learning and industry hath exalted, whom I prefer before genus et proavos*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 14–1592).

Genus means the stock from which we are derived, but sometimes noble birth (*Horace*) and *proavus* means a forefather or what Shakespeare calls a foregoer:—

"Honours thrive,
When rather from our acts we them derive
Than our foregoers." (*All's Well*, ii. 3. 142.)

for

Nashe.: "*Every man winneth not by the nobility of the place nor his stock but by his virtue.*" (*Vol.* I. p. 19.)

On the other hand

Shak.: "Where great additions swell's, and virtue none,
It is a dropsied honour."
(*All's Well*, ii. 3. 134.)

Compare Nashe:

"*Hydrophen conscientiam, a dropsie conscience*"
(*Vol.* iv. p. 149.)

Nashe returns to "*genus et proavos*" again in *Vol.* iii. p. 82; 1596:—

"*Nam genus et proavos, et quae non fecimus ipsi,*
Vix ea nostra voco.
It is no glory of ours what our forefathers did,
nor are we to answer for any sins of theirs.
Demosthenes was the son of a cutler, Socrates
of a midwife; which detracted neither from the
one's eloquence nor the other's wisdom."

Bacon continued:—

(B.) "*Because what we enjoy by the benefit of others carries with it an obligation to them for it. . . . Nay, when the Divine Providence bestows favours on us, they require acknowledgement and a kind of retribution to the Supreme Being.* (*Sophism.* xi.)

And even

Shak.: "In common worldly things 'tis call'd ungrateful,
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt,
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,
For it requires the royal debt it lent you."
(*R*3. ii. 2. 91.)

The Nashe equivalent is:

"*There is no giving but with condition of restoring.*"
(*Vol.* vi. p. 160.)

As to virtue and cunning procuring immortality:—

Bacon: "*Leaving the vulgar arguments, that by learning man excelleth man in that wherein man excelleth*

beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens . . . where in body he cannot come." (*Adv.*, i. 8. 6.)

Nashe: "*Heaven itself is but the highest height of Knowledge.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 61);

and

Nashe: "*Science hath no other enemy but the ignorant.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 52.)

Bacon: "*Scientia non habet inimicum praeter ignorantem.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 12.)

(Science has no enemy but the ignorant.)

Shak.: "Ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven." (2*H*6, iv. 7. 78.)

Nashe: "*It is learning and knowledge which are the only ornaments of a man.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 50.)

Bacon: "*Knowledge which is not only the excellentest thing in man, but the very excellency of man.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 10.)

Bacon: "*The mind is the man, and knowledge mind. A man is but what he knoweth.*"

(Northumberland MSS., Burgoyne, p. 13 *The Praise of Knowledge.*)

Shak.: "*Learning* is but an adjunct to ourself,
And where we are our learning likewise is."
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 314.)

See previous Bacon (A)

Bacon: "*Pardon me, it was because almost all things may be indued and adorned with speeches, but knowledge itself is more beautiful than any apparel of words that can be put upon it.*"
(*The Praise of Knowledge*, see Burgoyne, p. 14.)

Bacon continued:—

"*Let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is immortality and continuance; for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses, and families; to this tend*

buildings, foundations and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration; and in effect the strength of all other human desires." (*Adv.*, i. 8. 6.) :

Shak. : "The huge army of the world's desires." (*L.L.L.*, i. 1. 10.)

Bacon : "*We see then how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years, or more, without loss of a syllable or letter; during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished?*" (*Adv.*, i. 8. 6.)

As to memory, fame and eternity :—

Shak. : "Let fame, that all hunt after in their lives,
Live register'd upon our brazen tombs,
And then grace us in the disgrace of death;
When, spite of cormorant devouring Time,
Th' endeavour of this present breath may buy
That honour which shall bate his scythe's keen edge,
And make us heirs of all eternity."
(*L.L.L.*, i. 1. 1.)

Nashe : "*Some elaborate polished poem which I will leave to the world when I am dead to be a living image to all ages.*" (*Nashe*, ii. p. 64; 1592.)

and, having done this, then

Shak. : "Death to me subscribes,
Since spite of him, I'll live in this poor rhyme,
. . . And thou in this shall find thy monument,
When tyrants' crests and tombs of brass are spent." (*Sonnet* 107.)

As the earl of Worcester "became a teacher in Padua"; so,

Shak. : "I do present you with a man of mine (Hortensio) cunning in music and mathematics to instruct her (Katharine) fully in those sciences." (*Shrew*, ii. 1. 55.)

And as the earl of Worcester "studied in Padua", and "flowered in virtue and cunning";

Shak.: " so this young scholar (Lucencio) that hath long been studying in Rheims; as cunning in Greek, Latin, and other languages, as the other in music and mathematics." (*Ib.*, ii. 1. 79.)

With few exceptions

Shak.: " Time's the king of men
He's both their parent, and he is their grave "
(*Pericles*, ii. 3. 45);

but Nashe, " Shakespeare " and Bacon thought that by learning and knowledge a man might ascend to heaven and so procure immortality.

The word " foregoer " is not used elsewhere in the plays, and *All's Well* was not acted or printed before November 1623. Nashe's " *proavus* " which means a " forefather " or a " foregoer " was printed in 1592. (31 years before Shakespeare's " foregoers "). It is a strong piece of evidence that Bacon, Shakespeare and Nashe knew each other uncommonly well.

The quotations from Nashe's first volume are taken from *The Anatomy of Absurdity*, the latter part of which is but an embryonic edition of *The Advancement of Learning* of 1605. It was printed in 1589.

Let us now consider " Poesy Parabolical."

Nashe: " *I account of poetry as of a more hidden and divine kind of philosophy, enwrapped in blind fables and dark stories.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 36.)

Bacon: " *The history of parables . . . which is divine poesy.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 2. 1.)

Bacon: " *Poesy parabolical . . . when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine poesy we see the use is authorised.*"
(*Adv.*, ii. 4. 4.)

Shak.: " Thou shalt never get such a secret from me but by a parable." (*T.G. Verona*, ii. 5. 40.)

Shak.: " There is a mystery—with whom relation
Durst never meddle—in the soul of state;
Which hath an operation more divine."
(*Troilus*, iii. 3. 201.)

Nashe: "*Did not Virgil under the covert of a fable, express that divine mystery, which is the subject of his sixth Eclogue?*" (*Vol.*, i. p. 40.)

"*I could send you to Ovid, who expresseth the general deluge . . . in the fable of Deucalion and Pyrrha.*" (*Ib.*)

Twenty years later (1609) Bacon records the fable of '*Deucalion and Pyrrha*' in his *Wisdom of the Ancients.*

Nashe: "*The secrets of God must not be searched into.*" (*Vol.*, ii. p. 218.)

Bacon: "*We ought not to attempt to draw down or to submit the mysteries of God to out reason.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 6. 1.)

Shak.: "Those mysteries which heaven will not have earth to know." (*Coriol.*, iv. 2. 35.)

Look through the above quotations again, and you will find that each man uses the words "parable" or "fable" "divine," "secrets," and "mysteries" either in singular or plural.

Observe again, in the next page, how "Shakespeare" weaves Ecclesiastes x. 1. for the second time into the history of Richard II; but in such a way that no man could detect it without the aid of Nashe.

Bacon: "*All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, "Remember thou art man;" and "remember thou art God.*" (*Essays, XIX.*)

Nashe: "*Kings are gods on earth, their actions must not be sounded by their subjects.*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 218.)

Shak.: "And shall the figure of God's majesty (*Richard II*) . . . Be judged by subject and inferior breath?" (*R2*, iv. 1. 125.)

Duchess of York to King Henry IV:

Shak.: "A god on earth thou art." (*R2*, v. 3. 136.)

Nashe.: "*Simonides*" to "*Pausanias King of the Lacedemonians,*"

"*Remember that art a man.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 47.)

Nashe: Pausanias scorned this speech, but later while

starving in prison he cried, "*O my friend of Coeos would God I had regarded thy words.*" (*Ib.*);

Nashe: but "*Good COUNSEL is never remembered nor respected till men have given their farewell to felicity.*" (*Ib.*)

Shak.: "Then all too late comes COUNSEL to be heard
Where WILL doth MUTINY with WIT'S regard." (*R2*, ii. 1. 27).

Nashe: for "*When WIT gives place to WILL, and REASON to affection, then folly with full sail launcheth forth.*" (*Vol.* i. p .27.)

and when folly launcheth forth of a man that is in reputation for wisdom and honour it causes his name to yield an ill odour, even "*Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguentum optimum*" (even "as dead flies cause the best ointment to stink—*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* xi). This is Bacon's own version of Ecclesiastes x. 1, which differs from all other versions; but without Nashe as a guide we might never have suspected that the author of *Richard II* had this same parable in mind while writing, "Where WILL doth MUTINY with WIT'S regard."

The "*MUTINIES and seditions of the affections*" may be found in the *Advancement of Learning* (ii. 18. 4—1605) and why it is that the affections commonly override REASON; in other words why "*WIT gives place to WILL and REASON to affection*" as they did in the case of "*Pausanias King of the Lacedemonians*" and Richard II, King of England. Did not Richard II scorn the speech of his dying uncle, just as Pausanias scorned the speech of Simonides? And did they not both bid farewell to felicity and languish in prison till death had mercy on them?

Bacon: "*In this third part of learning, which is poesy, I can report no deficience. . . . But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 4. 5.)

Nashe: "*That we dwell not so long in Poetry, that we become pagans.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 72.)

Nashe: "*As for lighter studies, seeing they are but the exercise of youth to keep them from idleness, and the preparation of the mind to more weighty meditations.*" (*Vol.* i. pp. 71–2.)

Bacon: "*Let us now pass on to the judicial place or palace of the mind, which we are to approach and view with more reverence and attention.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 4–5.)

There are in the brain two forts or fortresses. One is very old and exists in animals including man. This is Bacon's "fort of the affections"—Love, Envy, Anger and Fear. In the upper part of the brain there is a more modern fort which is not yet completed. This is the fortress or "fort of reason." These forts are continually at war by day and by night. The unruly fellows down stairs are ever bombarding the fort of reason up stairs, with their importunities, until at last reason gives way to the affections from sheer want of sleep, then folly with full sail launcheth forth The true reason is, according to Bacon, that men think too much of the present and not enough of the future. "Then all too late," etc.

In that magnificent book, edited by Frank J. Burgoyne which gives us a facsimile copy of all the manuscripts that were discovered in Northumberland House, Charing Cross in 1867, there is an essay by Bacon in "*Praise of Fortitude*," in which he says, "*Thus is fortitude the marshal of thoughts, the armour of the will, and the FORT of REASON.*" The date of this essay is 1592. In the *Hamlet* quarto of 1604 we come upon "the pales and FORTS of REASON." In 1614 Bacon spoke in the House of Commons: "*Mr. Speaker, I know of but two forts in this house that the King ever hath, the fort of affection and the FORT of REASON.*"

"FORT of REASON" seems to have been peculiar to Bacon in the times of Elizabeth and James I, and REASON is Bacon's prescription for subduing the "*PASSIONS which are indeed the sicknesses of the mind.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 7) :—

"*Physic hath no more medicine against the disease of the body than REASON hath preservatives against the PASSIONS of the mind.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 8.)

Action and reaction are equal and opposite; or as Bacon says, "*Force maketh nature more violent in the return*" (*Essay*, 38.)

Again :—

"*The force with which an agent acts is increased by the antiperistasis* (reaction) *of its opposite.*" (*De Aug.*, iii. 1. and "*Every passion grows fresh, strong and vigorous by opposition or prohibition as it were by reaction or antiperistasis.*" (*De Aug.*, ii. xiii.)

And here is an excellent example of it :—

"His unjust unkindness that in all REASON should have QUENCHED her (Mariana's) love hath, like an impediment in a current, made it more violent and unruly." (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 250.)

"As all impediments in fancy's course
Are motives of more fancy" (*All's Well*, v. 3. 214.)

"The current that with gentle murmur glides
Thou know'st, being stopp'd impatiently doth rage ;
But when his fair course is not hindered
He makes sweet music with the enamell'd stones."
(*T. G. Verona*, ii. 7. 24.)

"So it is in the music of men's live." (*R2*, v. 5. 44.)

Love and Anger are two of the strongest passions, and just as REASON should have QUENCHED Mariana's love so should anger be quenched by REASON :—

"Anger is like a full hot horse . . .
Be advised :
I say again, there is no English soul
More stronger to direct you than yourself,
If with the sap of REASON you would QUENCH,
Or but allay, the fire of PASSION." (*H8*, i. 1.)

By opposition Edward the third's love, like Mariana's, became more violent and unruly ; for he says

"I cannot beat
With REASON and reproof fond love away."
(ii. 1. 291.)

Yes, you can, says Shakespeare, "If with the sap of REASON you would QUENCH, or but allay, the fire of PASSION."

We see, then, that Bacon would prescribe REASON as a preservative against the passions or sicknesses of the

mind and "Shakespeare" would quench them with REASON, as in *Sonnet* 147, where he says his "love" (or passion) "is as a fever," and REASON the physician whose "prescriptions are not kept" and so the condition becomes "desperate" and "past cure."

> My reason, the physician to my love,
> Angry that his prescriptions are not kept,
> Hath left me, and I desperate now approve
> Desire is death, which physic did except.
> Past cure I am, now reason is past care.

We come now to the strongest fortress of the affections which is FEAR.

Bacon: "*There is nothing in nature more general or more strong than the fear of death.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 9.)

Shak.: "Of all base passions fear is the most accurst." (1*H*6, v. 2. First Folio.)

Bacon: "*If many have conquered passion's chiefest and strongest FORTRESS it is lack of understanding in him that getteth not an absolute victory.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 9.)

Although "Fortitude" is the "fort of reason,"

Bacon: yet "*fortitude is not given to man by nature but must grow out of discourse of reason.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 10), by which Bacon means "*discourse according to reason* (*Sylva Sylvarum.*)

As to reason and fortitude :—

Bacon: "*Clearness of judgment . . . leadeth us to fortitude.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 9.)

Shak.: And "Defect of judgment is oft the cause of fear." (*Cymb.*, v. 2., First Folio.)

The *History of Edward III* comes in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*" where it ought not to be; for it was obviously written by the same man that wrote *Richard II* and *Measure for Measure.*

We have seen that when Bacon and "Shakespeare" had patients suffering from the more violent sicknesses of the mind, such as Anger and Love, they called in the same physician to deal with them; and his name was REASON.

In the following pages we shall hear more of this physician, and have a little more material to enable us to judge the relationship between Bacon, "Shakespeare" and Nashe.

Love was a huge subject which occupied the minds of these men all through life. Bacon's early essay upon this subject (1592) remained in manuscript for more than 250 years. His last printed essay is dated 1625. The first will be referred to as his *MS. Essay* and the last as *Essay X.*

Bacon and "Shakespeare" deal with nuptial love, friendly love, love by rote, herculean love, the mad degree of love, wise love (love mingled with reason), foolish love (love without reason), constant love (like the loadstone), inconstant love (like the force of gravitation) and love in moderation.

As in this year, 1944, we are short of paper, we must without preliminaries, dive straight into this subject of love.

Bacon: "*What! nothing but tasks, nothing but working days? No feasting, no music, no dancing, no triumphs, no comedies, no love, no ladies?*" (*Life*, i. p. 341.)

Shak.: "O, these are barren tasks, too hard to keep,
Not to see ladies, study, fast, not sleep."
(*L.L.L.*, i .1. 47.)

Bacon: "*Love doth so fill and possess the powers of the mind.*" (*MS. essay.*)

Shak.: "And gives to every power a double power."
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 331.)

Bacon: "*As it sweeteneth the harshness of all deformities.*"
(*Ib.*)

Shak.: "How long hath she been deformed?"
(*T.G., Verona*, ii. 1. 71.)
"Ever since you loved her."
"Because love is blind. O, that you had mine eyes!" (*Ib.*, ii. 1. 76.)
"What should I see then?"
"Your own present folly and her passing deformity." (*Ib.*, ii. 1. 80.)
When is love a Hercules?
Why, when he can equal or overcome Hercules.

Then

Bacon : "*Let no man fear the yoke of fortune that's in the yoke of love. What fortune can be such a HERCULES that shall be able to overcome two? When two souls are joined in one, when one hath another to divide his fortune withal, no force can depress him.*" (*Northumberland MS*) ;
for not even HERCULES can overcome two.
("*Ne Hercules quidem contra duos.*"—Aulus Gellius).*

Therefore,

Shak. : "For valour, is not love a HERCULES?"
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 340.)

Whose love did read by rote?
Why, Romeo's :—

Shak. : "Thy LOVE did read by ROTE and could not SPELL." (*Romeo*, ii. 3. 88.)

Bacon : "*Now therefore will I teach lovers to LOVE that have all this while loved by ROTE. I will give them the alphabet of LOVE. I will show them how it is SPELLED.*" (*Northumberland MS.*)

Bacon : "*Love is the only passion that opens the heart.*"
(*Northumberland MS.*)

Bacon : "*And no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs . . . and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it.*" (*Works*, vi. p. 601.)

Shak. : And "cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart." (*Macb.*, v. 3. 44.)

Bacon : "*And if it should be said that the care of men's minds belongeth to sacred divinity, it is most true.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 22. 1.)

Shak. : "Can't thou not minister to a mind diseased?"
(*Macb.*, v. 3. 40.)

No ;

Shak. : "This disease is beyond my practice."
(*Ib.*, v. 1. 65.)

* See *Works*, vii. p. 162, "*Ne Hercules quidem contra duos.*" (*Apothegms.*)

Shak.: "More needs she the *divine* than the physician."
(*Ib.*, v. 1. 82.)

Bacon: "*Love is a pure gain and advancement in nature; it is not a good by comparison, but a true good; it is not an ease of pain, but a true purchase of pleasures.*" (*MS. essay.*)

Shak.: "There's not a minute of our lives should stretch without some. pleasure." (Antony to Cleopatra, i. 1. 46);

Bacon: "*and therefore when our minds are soundest, when they are not as it were in sickness and therefore out of taste, but when we be in PROSPERITY, when we want NOTHING, then is the season the opportunity and the SPRING OF LOVE.*" (*MS. essay.*)

Shak.: "Where NOTHING wants that want (love) itself doth seek." (*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 237.)

Shak.: "O, how this SPRING OF LOVE resembleth
The uncertain glory of an April day."
(*T.G., Verona*, i. 2. 84.)

Shak.: "The April's in her eyes: it is 'LOVE'S SPRING.'" (*A. and Cleo.*, iii. 2. 43.)

Bacon: "*This passion* (love) *hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are great PROSPERITY and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed.*"
(*Essay X.*)

Shak.: "Prosperity's the very bond of love.'
(*Winter's Tale*, iv. 4. 584.)

Shak.: "Devils soonest TEMPT, resembling spirits of light." (*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 257.)

Amongst Nashe's devils are

Nashe: "*TEMPTERS, who for their interrupting us in all our good actions are called our evil angels.*"
(*Vol.* ii. p. 118.)

And is not love a tempter, an evil angel, and a devil? Yes,

Shak.: "Love is a devil; there is no evil angel but love."
(*L.L.L.*, i. 2. 178.)

" Yet was Sampson so TEMPTED, and he had an excellent strength." (*Ib.*, 179.)

Shak.: " O, sweet-suggesting love, if thou hast sinn'd, Teach me (thy TEMPTED subject) to excuse it!" (*T.G. Verona*, ii. 6. 7.)

The devil takes upon himself many and varied shapes. He walks by night, and his works are called the works of darkness.

Nashe: " *Off with your gown and untruss.*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 65.)

Shak.: " Claudio is condemned for untrussing." (*Meas.*, iii. 2. 190.)

Nashe: " *To whom his master stands preaching a long time, all law and no gospel, ere he proceed to execution.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 262.)

Shak.: Angelo preached all law and no gospel to Isabel before proceeding to the execution of Claudio. (*Meas.*, ii. 2.)

Nashe: " *If you send your wife or some other female to plead for you, she may get your pardon upon promise of better acquaintance.*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 54.)

Shak.: Claudio sent Isabel to get his pardon from Angelo; and Angelo agreed upon promise of better acquaintance with Isabel.

Nashe: " *But whist, these are the works of darkness, and must not be talked of in the day time.*" (*Ib.*).

Shak.: " For day hath nought to do what's done by night." (*Lucrece*, 1091).

Shak.: " Are there no other tokens between you?" (*Meas.*, iv. 1. 41.)

Shak.: " No, none, but only a repair i' the dark."

Shak.: " The duke yet would have dark deeds darkly answered; he would never bring them to light." (*Ib.*, iii.. 2.. 187.)

Nashe: " *A general principle it is, he that doth ill hateth the light.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 223.)

Nashe: " *Hence it is, that sin generally throughout the scriptures is called the works of darkness, for never is the devil so busy as then.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 281);

And that is why Demetrius warned Helena not

Shak.: "To trust the opportunity of night
And the ill counsel of a desert place."
(*Dream*, ii. 1. 217.)

Bacon: *And now to you sir that so much commend virtue fortitude, and therein chiefly commend it because it doth enfranchise us from the tyrannies of fortune, yet doth it not in such perfection as doth love.*" (*MS. essay.*)

Bacon: "*We see what rich tribute curiosity and desire of novelty pay unto love: being indeed if not the highest yet the sweetest affection of all others.*" (*Ib.*)

Bacon: "*Now turn we our view on ambition. . . . Is not love a goal of ambition, a perfection of commandment, including not only the commandment of the person but of the will. Do we not see it in popular states? . . . Do we not observe how the Heresiarchae and beginners of sects, making it their summum bonum to reign in men's minds, are therefore justly called stupratores mentium, the deflowerers of understandings? So that as it is the disease of such extravagant and strange spirits* to seek a commandment over reasons and beliefs, so it is natural in man to aspire to commandment of minds and especially of affections and wills.*" (*Ib.*)

Shak.: "But nothing can affection's course control
Or stop the headlong Fury of his speed."
(*Luc.*, 500.)

Moreover,

Shak.: "The will of man is by his REASON sway'd."
(*Dream*, ii. 2. 115.)

But

Bacon: "*Scholars come too soon and too UNRIPE to the study of logic,*" which is the art of REASON.
(*Works*, iv. p. 288.)

Shak.: "So I being young, till now NOT RIPE in REASON. . . ." (*Dream*, ii. 2. 117.)

* "Extravagant and erring spirit." (*Ham.*, i. 1. 154.)
"Extravagant and strange spirit." (*Essay*, 58.)
"Foolish extravagant spirit." (*L.L.L.*, iv. 2. 68.)

Shak.: "... REASON becomes the MARSHAL to my will
And leads me to your eyes, where I o'erlook
Love's stories written in love's richest book."
(*Ib.*, 119.)

Shak.: "Young men's love then lies
Not truly in their hearts, but in their eyes."
(*Romeo*, ii. 3. 68.)

Shak.: "It is engender'd in the eyes, with gazing fed."
(*Merch.*, iii. 2. 67.)

Shak.: Then "gaze where you should and that will clear your sight." (*Errors*, iii. 2. 57.)

Shak.: "Love first learned in a lady's eyes."
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 327.)

Bacon: "*To leave where love beginneth, who discerneth not that the eye is the most affecting sense?*" (*MS. Essay.*)

Shak.: "With that which we lovers entitle affected."
(*L.L.L.*, ii. 1. 232.)

Shak.: "Why, all his behaviours did make their retire
To the court of his eye." (*Ib.*, 234.)

Shak.: "All senses to that sense did make their repair
To feel only looking on fairest of fair:
Methought all his senses were lock'd in his eye."
(*Ib.*, 240.)

Shak.: "Young blood doth not obey an old decree."
L.L.L., iv. 3. 217.)

Bacon: "*It is noted also that absolute idleness and leisure when the mind is without object is but languishing and weariness.*" (*MS. essay*);

Bacon: and that "*the mind grows languid that hath no excesses.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

Shak.: "I remember, when I was in France, young gentlemen would be as sad as night only for wantonness." (*K. John*, iv. 1. 14);

Shak.: and, "but for my love, day would turn to night."
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 233.)

But
Shak.: "The blood of youth burns not with such excess
As gravity's revolt to wantonness."
(*Ib.*, v. 2. 74.)

Call up Angelo, who said,

Shak.: "My gravity wherein—let no man hear me—I take pride." (*Meas.*, ii. 4. 9);

and you know the rest.

Shak.: "The brain may devise laws for the blood, but a hot temper leaps o'er a cold decree." (*Merch.*, i. 2. 19);

Bacon: and although "*the cripple in the right way outstrips the runner in the wrong.*" (*Works*, iv., p. 284.)

yet

Shak.: "such a hare is madness the youth, to skip o'er the meshes of good COUNSEL the cripple." (*Merch.*, i. 2. 21).

We are dealing with what Bacon calls "*The mad degree of love.*" (*Essay X.*)
and Shakespeare says,

Shak.: "Love is merely a madness." (*As You*, iii. 2. 420.)

And that's true, too, because

Shak.: "REASON and love keep little company together now-a-days." (*Dream*, iii. 1. 46.)

Shak.: "But are you so much in love as your rhymes speak?" (*As You*, iii. 2. 418.)
"Neither rhyme nor REASON can express how much."

How, then, are we to cure this madness, this PASSION or sickness of the mind?

Bacon: "*By eloquence and persuasion.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 18. 4.)

Bacon: "*By the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion.*" (*Essay*, 58.)

Shak.: "Where you may temper her with your persuasion." (*T.G.V.*, ii. 1. 64.)

Shak.: "I profess curing it by COUNSEL." (*As You*, iii. 2. 425.)

But what can be done with a man who says,

Shak.: "I thank your worship for your good COUNSEL, but I shall follow it as the flesh and fortune shall better determine?" (*Meas.*, ii. 1. 267);

Or with another rascal who says,

Shak.: "Ask me no REASON why I love you, for though love use REASON for his physician, he admits him not for his COUNSELLOR?" (*Wives*, ii. 1. 5);

for

Shak.: "My will is strong past REASON'S weak removing." (*Lucrece*, 243.)

Shak.: "All this beforehand COUNSEL comprehends; But WILL is deaf and hears no heedful friends." (*Lucrece*, 494.)

Shak.: "O, then I see that madmen have no ears." (*Romeo*, iii. 3. 61.)

Shak.: "Then all too late comes COUNSEL to be heard Where WILL doth mutiny with WIT'S regard." (*R2*, ii. 1. 27);

Nashe: for "*When WIT gives place to WILL and REASON to affection, then FOLLY with full sail launcheth forth.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 27, and Eccles. x. 1.)

This is the kind of love that Bacon says is "*The child of FOLLY.*" (*Essay X.*)

Bacon: "*Men are transported by PASSIONS.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 18. 2); and when they are, they are difficult to deal with because they will not listen to REASON, which is Bacon's sovereign remedy for the "*PASSIONS which are indeed the sicknesses of the mind.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 7.)

Shak.: "See how his rage transports him!" (*The Birth of Merlin*, ii. 2. 112.)

Shak.: "Those affections in him are like powder, Apt to inflame with every little spark, And blow up all his REASON." (*Ib.*, ii. 2. 19.)

Shak.: "It is not REASON that DIRECTS you thus."

Shak.: "Then have I none, for all I have DIRECTS me." (*Ib.*, ii. 2. 80–81.)

Again, in the *History of Henry VIII*, which was obviously written by "Shakespeare":—

Shak.: "Stay, my lord, And let your REASON with your choler question

What 'tis you go about . . .
. . . Anger is like
A full hot horse . . .
. . . Be advised:
I say again, there is no English soul
Shak.: More stronger to DIRECT you than yourself,
If with the sap of REASON you would quench,
Or but allay, the fire of PASSION."
(*H8*, i. 1. 129–30).

We shall see later how the same argument is used regarding love.

Bacon: "*You may perhaps think me partial to Potycaries' that have been ever puddering in physic all my life,*', (*Life*, vii. p. 515.)

Shak.: "'Tis known, I ever
Have studied physic." (*Pericles*, iii. 2. 31.)

And

Bacon: "*Physic hath no more medicines against the diseases of the body, than REASON hath preservatives against the PASSIONS of the mind.*" (*Life*, ii. p. 8.)

Bacon: Now, "*in medicining of the mind, after knowledge of the divers characters of men's natures, it followeth in order to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are no other than the perturbations and DISTEMPERS of the affections.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 22. 6.)

Shak.: Call up Romeo, who lost his "golden sleep," and was supposed to have been "uprous'd by some DISTEMPERATURE." (*Romeo*, ii. 3. 38–40.)

Shak.: "Young son, it argues a DISTEMPER'D head
So soon to bid good morrow to thy bed."
(*Ib.*, ii. 3. 33.)

Next, call up Hector, who upbraided his brothers regarding their loose morals, and said,

Shak.: "The REASONS you allege do more conduce
To the hot PASSION of DISTEMPER'D blood
Than to make up a free determination
'Twixt right and wrong."
(*Troilus*, ii. 2. 168.)

The Bacon equivalent of "the hot passion of distemper'd blood" is "*the boiling heat of their affections*":—

Bacon: "*Is not the opinion of Aristotle wise and worthy of regard, that young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy. because the boiling heat of their affections is not yet TEMPERED with time and experience?*" (*Works*, v. p. 26.)

Shak.: "I thought thy disposition better TEMPER'D." (*Romeo*, iii. 3. 115.)

Call up Hector again, accusing his brothers of being

Shak.: "not much
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
Unfit to hear moral philosophy."
(*Troilus*, ii. 2. 165.)

Right or wrong, Bacon and "Shakespeare" always think alike, and they were both keen students of Aristotle.

The "green hair" on Troilus's chin (i. 2. 166) was fetched from Aristotle's *De Coloribus;* and so was the "*green hair*" in Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*. (*Works*, ii. p. 340.)

Bacon: "*The end of morality is to procure the affections to obey REASON.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 18. 2);

But what can be done with a man who says,

Shak.: "My will is strong past REASON'S weak removing?" (*Lucrece*, 243.)

And that

Shak.: "Nothing can affection's course control
Or stop the headlong FURY of his speed?"
(*Lucrece*, 500.)

Shak.: Like "the unreasonable FURY of a beast."
(*Romeo*, iii. 3. 111.)

Bacon: "*In life it* (this mad degree of love) *doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a FURY.*" (*Essay X*—1625.)

Shak.: "What zeal, what FURY hath inspired thee now?" (*L.L.L.*, iv. 3. 229.)

Bacon: "*Great spirits and great business do keep out this weak PASSION.*" (*Essay X.*)

Shak.: "From love's weak childish bow she lives unharmed." (*Romeo*, i. 1. 217.)

Look at Julius Cæsar!

Bacon: "*He so governed his pleasures, that they were no hinderance to his interest nor main business.*" (*Works*, vi. p. 345);

and although "Shakespeare" says,

Shak.: "The WILL of man is by his REASON sway'd," (*Dream*, ii. 2. 115.)

Yet, in the case of Julius Cæsar, he says,

Shak.: "I have not known when his affections sway'd
More than his REASON." (*J. Cæsar*, ii. 1. 20.)

Shak.: "Do not you love me?"
"Why, no; no more than REASON."
(*Ado.*, v. 4. 74.)

Bacon: Although "*the end of morality is to procure the affections to obey REASON,*" yet "*to show her* (virtue) *to REASON only in subtilty of argument was a thing ever derided in Chrysippus and many of the Stoics, who thought to thrust virtue upon men by sharp DISPUTATIONS and conclusions, which have no sympathy with the WILL of man.*"
(*Adv.*, ii. 18. 3.)

Shak.: "Thus, graceless, holds he DISPUTATION
'Tween frozen conscience and hot-burning WILL." (*Lucrece*, 246.)

Bacon: "*But in regard of the continual mutinies and seditions of the affections,*
Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor."
(*Adv.*, ii. 18, 4.)
(I see the better course, and I approve, yet follow the worse.)

Shak.: "Urging the worser sense for vantage still."
(*Lucrece*, 249.)

Shak.: "The worst is but denial and REPROVING."
(*Ib.*, 242);

but as I said,

Shak.: "My WILL is strong past REASON'S weak removing."

Shak.: "My WILL that marks thee for my earth's delight,
Which I to conquer sought with all my might;
But as REPROOF and REASON BEAT it dead,
By thy bright beauty was it newly bred."
(*Lucrece*, 487);

Shak.: And so, "I cannot BEAT
With REASON and REPROOF fond love away." (*Ed.* III. ii. 1. 291.)

Shak.: A. "Didst thou but know the inly touch of love,
Thou would'st as soon go kindle fire with snow
As seek to QUENCH the fire of love with words." (*T.G. Verona*, ii. 7. 18.)

Shak.: B. "I do not seek to QUENCH your love's hot fire,
But qualify the fire's extreme rage,
Lest it should burn above the bounds of REASON." (*Ib.*, ii. 7. 21.)

But

Shak.: C. "The more thou damm'st it up the more it burns." (*Ib.*, 24.)

Shak.: D. And, "spaniel-like, the more she scorns my love,
The more it grows." (*Ib.*, iv. 2. 14.)

Shak.: E. "His unjust unkindness that in all REASON should have QUENCHED her love hath, like an impediment in a current, made it more violent and unruly." (*Meas.*, iii. 1. 250.)
"I do not, nor I cannot love you."

Shak.: F. "And even for that do I love you the more.
I am your spaniel." (*Dream*, ii. 2. 201.)

Shak.: "The story shall be changed:
Apollo flies, and Daphne holds the chase."
(*Ib.*, ii. 2. 230.)

How fond Bacon was of the "antiperistasis":—

Bacon: *"Every PASSION grows fresh, strong and vigorous by opposition, or prohibition or as it were by reaction or antiperistasis,"*

And there are excellent examples of it on this page. Compare "A," "B" and "E" with the quotation from *Hen. VIII* on page 161. "C," "D," "E" and "F" are all derived from "Action and reaction are equal and opposite"; and also from

Bacon: "*The force with which an agent acts is increased by the antiperistasis of its opposite.*" (*De Aug.*, iii. 1.)

Bacon and Shakespeare took exception to this doting idolatry:—

Bacon: "*As if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little IDOL.*" (*Essay* X.)

Shak.: "Was this the IDOL that you worship so?—even she." (*T.G. Verona*, ii. 4. 144.)

Shak.: "To the celestial and my soul's IDOL, the most beautified Ophelia." (*Ham.*, ii. 2. 109.)

Shak.: "Pure, pure idolatry. God amend us!" (*L.L.L.*, iv., 3. 75.)

According to Bacon the love which is kindled in prosperity or adversity is "*the child of folly.*" (*Essay X.*); and in his 48th essay he says, "*there is little friendship in the world.*"

Shak.: "Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly." (*As You*, ii. 7. 181.)

Nashe: "*It is a difficult rare thing in these days to find a true friend.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 102.)

Bacon: "*Love me little love me long.*" (*Promus*, 959.)

Nashe: "*Love me a little and love me long.*" (*Vol.* iv., p. 158.)

Shak.: "Love moderately: long love doth so." (*Romeo*, ii. 6. 14.)

Bacon: *Friendly Love.* (*Essay X.*)

Bacon: "*Another delight ministered unto the nature of man by this condition* (love) *is to have such as may be companions unto him. Many are the griefs and diseases whereto men's states are subject; the very representation of them by foresight doth disrelish their present prosperities. But then when one forseeth*

withal, that to his many GRIEFS cannot be added solitude, but that he shall have a partner to BEAR them."

Shak.: (in other words, "when GRIEF hath mates and BEARING fellowship,"—*Lear*, iii. 6. 114) *this quieteth the mind.*" (*MS. essay*);

Bacon: for "*no man imparteth his GRIEFS to a friend but he grieveth the less.*" (*Essay* 27.)

Whereas,

Shak.: "Who alone suffers, suffers most i' the mind
Leaving free things and happy shows behind."
(*Lear*, iii. 6. 111.)

Bacon: "*Amongst comforts it is not the least to represent to a man's self the like examples of calamity in others.*" (Letter to Bishop of Winchester, after his "fall.")

Moreover,

Shak.: "GRIEF best is pleased with GRIEF'S society."
(*Lucrece*, 1111.)

Therefore,

Shak.: "Because kind nature doth require it so,
Friends should associate friends in GRIEF and woe." (*Titus And.*, v. 3. 168.)

Shak.: "One pain is lessen'd by another's anguish . . .
. . . One desperate GRIEF cures with another's languish." (*Romeo*, i. 2. 47.)

Shak.: "Pity me then dear friend, and I assure ye
Even that your pity is enough to cure me."
(*Sonnet*, 111.)

Bacon: "*And that same middle comfort . . . proceeding from your Majesty . . . hath been a great cause that such a sickness hath been PORTABLE.*" (*Life*, v. p. 249.)

Shak.: "How light and PORTABLE my pain seems now,
When that which makes me bend makes the king bow." (*Lear*, iii. 6. 115.)

Again:—

Bacon: "*If our betters have SUSTAINED the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved.*" (*Life*, vii. p. 371.)

Shak.: " When we our betters see bearing our woes
We scarcely think our miseries our foes."
(*Lear*, iii. 6. 109.)

Shak.: " And in this thought they find a kind of ease
Bearing their own misfortune on the back
Of such as have before ENDUR'D the like."
(*R2*, v. 2. 28.)

Bacon: " *Those who want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts*," and " *we know that diseases of STOPPINGS and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body, and it is not much otherwise in the sorrows of the mind* (*in aegritudinibus animae*)." (*Essay* 27, Latin edition only).

Shak.: " An oven that is STOPP'D, or river stay'd,
Burneth more hotly, swelleth with more rage;
So of concealed sorrow may be said."
(*Venus*, 331.)

Shak.: " Sorrow concealed, like an oven STOPP'D,
Doth burn the heart to cinders where it is."
(*Titus And.*, ii. 4. 37.)

Shak.: " The more thou damm'st it up the more it burns."
(*T.G. Verona*, ii. 7. 24.)

As we give vent to the " corruption " in an abscess, so we must give vent to our sorrows; therefore,

Shak.: " Give sorrow words, the grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'er-fraught heart and bids it break." (*Macb.*, iv. 3. 209.)

Shak.: " My tongue will tell the anger of my heart,
Or else my heart concealing it will break."
(*Shrew.*, iv. 3. 77.)

Shak.: " I cannot, nor I will not, hold me still:
My tongue, though not my heart, shall have his will." (*Errors*, iv. 2. 17.)

But if the Gestapo be near

Shak.: " What my tongue dares not, that my heart shall say." (*R2*, v. 4. 97.)

Bacon: " *If we cannot speak justly, at least let us speak what we think.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iii., *Antitheta.*)

Nashe: " *That which we think let us speak.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 67.)

Shak.: "What I think I utter." (*Coriol.*, ii. 1. 58.)

Nashe: "*What they thought they would confidently utter.*" (*Vol.* v. p. 94.)

Syak.: What his heart thinks his tongue speaks." (*Ado.*, iii. 2. 14.)

Shak.: "Then he speaks what's in his heart." (*Coriol.*, iii. 3. 35.)

Shak.: "His heart's his mouth
What his breast forges, that his tongue must vent." (*Ib.*, iii. 1. 257.)

Bacon: *It were better to relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.*" (*Essay* 27.)

Shak.: "If so, then be not tongue-tied: go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let's *smother*
My damned son, which thy two sweet sons smother'd." (*R*3, iv. 4. 132.)

Shak.: "for losers will have leave
To ease their stomachs with their bitter tongues." (*Titus*, iii. 1. 233.)

Bacon: "*Always let losers have their words.*" (*Promus*, 972.)

Nashe: "*I will give losers leave to talk.*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 14.)

Shak.: "I will give losers leave to chide." (2*H*6, iii. 1. 182.)

Shak.: "And well such losers may have leave to speak." (*Ib.*, iii. 1. 185.)

Shak.: "Then give me leave, for losers will have leave
To ease their stomachs with their bitter tongues." (*Titus And.*, iii. 1. 233.)

Bacon: "*The principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fullness and swellings of the heart.*" (*Essay* 27.)

Shak.: "That my tongue may utter forth
The venomous malice of my swelling heart." (*Titus And.*, v. 3. 13.)

Shak.: "Let them have scope: though what they do impart
Help not at all, yet do they ease the heart." (*R*3, iv., 4. 130.)

Shak.: "O that I knew thy heart; and knew the beast,
That I might rail at him, to ease my mind."
(*Titus And.*, ii. 4. 34.)

Shak.: "Why should calamity be full of words?"
(*R3*, iv. 4. 126.)

Shak.: "Free vent of words love's fire doth assuage;
But when the heart's attorney once is mute,
The client breaks, as desperate in his suit."
(*Venus*, 334.)

Shak.: Then "break, my heart! for I must hold my tongue." (*Ham.*, i. 2. 159.)

Shak.: "O, break, my heart! poor bankrupt, break at once!" (*Romeo*, iii. 2. 57.)

Shak.: "My heart is great; but it must break with silence." (*R2*. ii. 1. 228.)

Chapter VII

CONSTANT AND INCONSTANT LOVE

Bacon: "*Health consisteth in the UNMOVABLE CONSTANCY and FREEDOM from PASSION.*"
(*Life*, ii. p. 7.)

Shak.: "Free from gross PASSIONS or of mirth or anger,
CONSTANT in spirit, not swerving with the blood." (*H5*, ii. 2. 133.)

Shak.: "Give me the man that is not PASSION'S slave."
(*Ham.*, iii. 2. 77.)

Shak.: "Bring me a CONSTANT woman."
(*H8*. iii. 1–134.)

Shak.: "Friendship is CONSTANT in all other things
Save in the office and affairs of love."
(*Ado.*, ii. 1. 182.)

Shak.: "Men were deceivers ever . . . to one thing CONSTANT never." (*Ib.*, ii. 3. 67.)

Bacon: But yet "'*CONSTANCY is the foundation of virtue.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

Shak.: "As it is virtuous to be CONSTANT in any undertaking." (*Meas.*, iii. 2. 239.)

Shak.: "Were man but CONSTANT he were perfect." (*T.G. Verona*, v. 4. 111.)

Bacon: "*As of iron to the adamant, for perfection.*" (*Works*, vii. p. 169.)

Bacon: But "*his wanes and changes are like the moon.*" (*Life*, i. p. 384.)

Shak.: "And the moon changes even as your mind." (*Shrew*, iv. 5. 20.)

Shak.: Then "swear not by the moon, the INCONSTANT moon." (*Romeo*, ii. 2. 109.)

Bacon: "*The moon, so CONSTANT in INCONSTANCY.*" (*Works*, vii. p. 282.)

Bacon: "*Grave natures led by custom, and therefore CONSTANT, are commonly loving husbands.*" (*Essay* 8.)

Shak.: "The Moor . . . is of a CONSTANT, lovable, noble nature,
And I dare think he'll prove . . .
A most dear husband." (*Oth.*, ii. 1. 297.)

The same is true of the loadstone; for the loadstone is of a constant, loving, noble nature, and has always proved to the iron a most dear husband.

The loadstone is an attractive force, a force which draws; and so is gravity. The Latin word "adamare" means to have a particular affection for a person or thing; and Bacon and Shakespeare derive the word "adamant" sometimes from *adamare* and sometimes from *adamas*.

Example from *adamare*:—

Bacon: "*To be used at all times for an adamant of DRAWING them on to our desires.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 339.)

Bacon: "*Credulity is the adamant of lies.*" (*Life*, i. p. 81.)

Bacon: "*Let him change his lodgings . . . which is a great adamant of acquaintance.*" (*Essay* 18.)

"*Excellent queen? true adamant of hearts.*" (*Gray's Inn Revels*, 1594. G. W. Thornbury, *Shakespeare's England*, *Vol.* ii. p. 361.)

Bacon: "*Doth it not appear that though her wit be as the adamant of excellencies, which* DRAWETH *out of any book,*" *etc.* (*Life*, i. p. 139.)

Bacon: "*If your son had continued at St. Julian's it mought have been an adamant to have* DRAWN *you.*" (*Life*, iv., p. 218.)

Helena to Demetrius:

Shak.: "You DRAW me, you hard-hearted adamant;
But yet you DRAW not iron" (in particular).
(*Dream*, ii. 1. 195.)

Bacon: for "*iron in particular sympathy moveth to the loadstone.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 20. 7.)

Bacon: "*As of iron to the adamant.*" (*Works*, vii. p. 169.)

Shak.: "As iron to adamant." (*Troilus*, iii. 2. 186.)

Bacon: But "*Gravity hath no affinity with the form or kind.*" (*Sylva Sylvarum*, 704.)

Shak.: "My love
Is as the very centre of the earth
DRAWING ALL THINGS to it."
(*Troilus*, iv. 2. 109.)

Helena's speech continued:—

"for my heart
Is true as steel: leave you your power to DRAW,
And I shall have no power to follow you."
(*Dream*, ii. 1. 196.)

Bacon: "*This dependeth upon one of the greatest secrets in all nature; which is that similitude of substance will cause attraction where the body is wholly freed from the motion of gravity; for if that were taken away, lead would* DRAW *lead, and gold would* DRAW *gold, and iron would* DRAW *iron, without the help of the loadstone.*" (*Syl. Syl.*, 704.)

At the time of Helena's speech Hermia was the loadstone:

Shak.: "Your eyes are load-stars." (*Dream*, i. 1. 183.)

And now the link between Helena and Demetrius no longer resembles that particular affection which the loadstone has for iron, but merely the force of gravitation which treats all women alike,—"hard-hearted," because

gravity listens to no appeal for mercy ; and if this power be eliminated (" Leave you your power to draw ") " I shall have no power to follow you," because there is no " *similitude of substance* " between us,—" My heart is true as steel," and you are false : a " spotted and inconstant man." (*Dream*, i. 1. 110)—see James, i. 27.)

This notion of similitude of substance and attraction is one of Bacon's bad guesses ; for many modern schoolboys could devise experiments to prove it false ; but what interests us most is that Shakespeare makes the same bad guess.

Professor Skeat (*Tudor Glossary*) takes " adamant " in the *Dream* to represent the loadstone. But there are two powerful arguments against him. First, " But yet you draw not iron " is very strong, and nobody has ever come upon a loadstone that did not draw iron (and steel). Secondly, the adjective " hard-hearted " does not apply to the loadstone ; for there is no more constant nor more perfect love in the world than that which exists between the loadstone and iron ; and that is why Bacon wrote, " *As iron to the adamant, for PERFECTION*," and why Shakespeare wrote, " Were man but constant he were PERFECT." If, then, it is not the loadstone, it must surely be intended to represent gravity, and how well the adjective " hard-hearted " fits that word ; for it matters not whether you are rich or poor, heavy or light, ugly or beautiful, step off the platform and down you go, and it is useless to ask for mercy. Therefore gravity is hard-hearted and when Helena says, " Leave you your power to draw," she must mean, " Eliminate the force of gravity " and " I shall have no power to follow you," because, as Bacon says, there is no " *similitude of substance* " between them.

Heredity precludes the possibility of any two men thinking alike in all subjects, and it is just these bad guesses that we find in Bacon and Shakespeare which force us to believe that the two men must be one and the same. Call to mind another bad guess where Bacon writes, " *A little leaven . . . doth commonly sour the whole lump* " (*Hist. Henry VII.*) A little leaven never yet turned anything sour, but Bacon had been reading one of Pliny's bad guesses, and so had Shakespeare when he wrote

" o'er leavens " in Hamlet's pre-ghost speech (i. 4. 29) ; so they both made the same blunder which has already been fully described.

Many critics tell us that Shakespeare blundered in deriving adamant from *adamare,* but if this is true Bacon many times made the same blunder as we have seen in the quotations above ; but, blunder or no blunder, Bacon also derives adamant from *adamas* under " Pan " in his *Wisdom of the Ancients,* and so does Shakespeare in *1H6* (i. 4. 52.)

Bacon : " *They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life ; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can nowise be true to their own ends.*" (*Essay X.*)

We see in *Measure for Measure* how Angelo, disregarding Bacon's precepts, allowed his love affair to interfere with his business, and how it troubled his fortunes and caused his downfall, and the same is true of Marcus Antonius and Appius Claudius. Bacon brings these two men into each of his essays " *Of Love* (1592 and 1625) and the attributes which he gives to Antony are the same as Shakespeare gives ; and although Shakespeare does not mention Appius, yet he gives us a picture of Angelo which is copied from a portrait of Appius hanging on the wall of his memory before him.

The duke, like Isabel, follows Bacon's precepts throughout the play. Not until he has finished the entire business of the court, including the forced marriages and the casting of " *a severe eye upon the example and a merciful eye upon the person* " in the cases of Barnardine and Lucio, does he " *admit love* " ; and then :

" Dear Isabel,
I have a MOTION much imports your good ;
Whereto if you'll a willing ear incline,
What's mine is yours and what is yours is mine."
(*Meas.,* v. 1. 540.)

Bacon : " *There is in man's nature a secret inclination and MOTION TOWARDS the love of others.*" (*Essay X.*)

Shak.: "We do request your kindest ears, and after, your loving MOTION TOWARDS the common body." (*Coriol.*, ii. 2. 56.)

Bacon: "*I read in nature there be two kinds of MOTIONS or appetites in sympathy, the one as iron to the adamant, for perfection, the other as the vine to the stake for sustentation.*" (*Works*, vii. p. 169.)

Examples of each in Shakespeare :—

"As iron to adamant." (*Troilus*, iii. 2. 186.)
"Thou art an *elm*, my husband, I a vine."
(*Errors*, ii. 2. 176.)

In *Measure for Measure* Isabel is the adamant, and the duke the iron ; and the good this MOTION or appetite imports is that, after marriage, Isabel will be able to look to the duke for sustentation and say,

"Thou art an *elm*, my husband, I a vine."

Bacon: "*In Italy and other countries where they have hotter sun, they raise them* (the vines) *upon elms and trees.*" (*Works*, ii. p. 483.)

Again :—

Bacon: "*There are but two sympathies, the one towards perfection, the other towards preservation. That to perfection, as the iron contendeth to the loadstone ; that to preservation, as the vine will creep towards the stake or prop that stands by it . . . to uphold itself.*" (*Life*, iii. p. 156.)

Bacon is here referring to Elizabeth and Essex. There was a time when the Queen was the adamant and Essex the iron, and at that time the Queen was also a prop or stake and Essex the vine. She had given him a monopoly of sweet wines, and he wished it renewed, and to gain his end he wrote her sweet words ; but at this time the Queen had her suspicions and no longer believed that she was the adamant and Essex the iron, and refused any longer to be a prop for his sustentation or preservation. And just as Bacon says "*I read in nature*" and speaks of "*sustentation*" and "*preservation*" ; so Shakespeare looked into this same book of nature, and wrote :

" And nature does require
Her times of preservation, which perforce
I, her frail son, amongst my brethren mortal,
Must give my tendance to." (*H8*, iii. 2. 145.)

If there is anything certain in this world it is that Bacon had a hand in the production of *Henry VIII*, because he can be traced by his explanations of Ecclesiastes x. 1, and Proverbs xii. 10; and in this regard it is not possible to trace any other man.

Bacon and Shakespeare had the same habit of instructing persons by praise :—

Bacon : " *Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, 'laudando praecipere,'* (to instruct by praise) *when by telling men what THEY ARE, they represent to them what they should be.*" (*Essay* 53.)

Shak. : " Brave conquerors, for so YOU ARE
That war against your own affections."
(*L.L.L.*, i. 1. 8.)

This speech was addressed to three young rebels, who were anything but conquerors of their own affections.

Bacon's fulsome praise of Queen Elizabeth, when he wished her to help introduce learning into England, must have caused many people to smile, especially where he says,

Bacon : " *What variety of knowledge; what rareness of conceit; what choice of words; what grace of utterance. Doth it not appear that though her wit be as the adamant of excellencies, which draweth out of any book ancient or new, out of any writing or speech, the best, yet she refineth it, she enricheth it far above the value wherein it is received?*"
(*Life*, i. p. 138.)

This is anything but the truth; but, as we have just seen, Bacon gives us his reason for this flattery in his 53rd essay, and he played the same trick upon James I in the beginning of the *Advancement of Learning*. In each case he gives his own attributes, which were, among other things, the refining of speeches and writings of others. Hear what his Chaplain says of him :—

" I have often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before ; so that the author should find his own speech much amended and yet the substance of it still retained." (*Works*, i. pp. 12, 13.)

Who can deny that " Shakespeare " possessed the same faculty ?

There is an excellent example of " *instruction by praise* " in the first part of *Henry IV* (ii. 3. 111) which should be noted by all married officers serving in this war :—

" Constant YOU ARE,
But yet a woman : and for secrecy,
No lady closer ; for I well believe
Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know ;
And so far will I trust thee, gentle Kate."

One more instance out of many, where Bacon praises Elizabeth by telling her that in the matter of love she may be wiser than other women or men :—

Bacon : " *Your Majesty may be invested of that which the poet said was never granted, ' amare et sapere.' "* (*Life*, i. p. 390.)

" *Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur* " (*Publilius Syrus.*) (To be wise and love is scarcely conceded to a god)—much less to a man.

Bacon : " *It is not granted to man to love and be wise.*" (*De Aug.*, ii. i.)

Shak. : " For to be wise and love exceeds man's might." (*Troilus*, iii. 2. 164.)

Bacon : " *and therefore it was well said that it is impossible to love and be wise.*" (*Essay X.*)

Shak. : " Fortune is painted blind." (*H5*, iii. 6. 32.)

Bacon : " *If a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune ; for though she is blind, she is not invisible.*" (*Essay* 40.)

Shak. : " But love is blind and lovers cannot see." (*Merch.*, ii. 6. 36.)

Bacon : " *This makes poor lovers used as blind horses, ever going round about in a wheel ; and this makes*

them ever unfortunate, for when blind love leads blind fortune, how can they keep out of the ditch?"
(*Life*, i. p. 389.)

Shak.: "For 'tis a question left us yet to prove
Whether (blind) love lead (blind) fortune, or else (blind) fortune (blind) love."
(*Ham.*, iii. 2. 213.)

Chapter VIII

BACON, SHAKESPEARE AND WAR

If ten men were to write about Bacon, Shakespeare and war, no two of them would write alike, but they would all be forced to admit that whatever Bacon thought of war Shakespeare thought the same; that they both argued for and against war; that they both disliked a civil war, but were not averse from a foreign war to prevent mutinies at home. They both thought that civil wars were caused by "*griefs and discontentments*," and Bacon says our word "*discontentment*" comes from the Latin word "*invidia*," which means "envy"; and that "*Envy . . . is a disease in a state like to infection.*" (*Essay* 9.)

It is like the "envious FEVER" in *Troilus and Cressida*, by which "many are infect." (*Troilus*, i. 1. 133 and 187.)

Note the distance between "envious fever" and "many are infect" (54 lines), as if the author wished to hide his identity, by not letting us know too easily that he thought exactly as Bacon did; namely, that "A civil war indeed is like the heat of a FEVER." (*Works*, vi. p. 450.)

But Francis Bacon, although you can fool most men all the time, yet you cannot fool all men all the time. You could not fool that band of eminent Latin or Greek scholars in Oxford University who in the sixties of last century determined to ferret you out, and who unanimously concluded that you were the culprit.*

Bacon says the Greeks were "*full of divisions amongst*

* We shall have more to say about these scholars in another place.

themselves" (*Life*, iii. p. 97), and it was these divisions, these civil wars, which Shakespeare calls ENVIOUS FEVERS, that were the cause of their WEAKNESS; and that is why he makes Ulysses say,

"And 'tis this FEVER that keeps Troy on foot,
Not her own sinews . . .
Troy in our WEAKNESS stands, not in her strength."
(*Troilus*, i. 3. 135.)

"Wisely hath Ulysses here discover'd
The FEVER whereof all our power is sick."
(*Ib.*, i. 3. 138.)

In 2 *Henry IV* Shakespeare calls it a burning FEVER :—

"We are all diseased,
And with our surfeiting and wanton hours
Have brought ourselves into a burning FEVER,
And we must bleed for it; of which disease
Our late King, Richard, being INFECTED, died."
(iv. 1. 54.)

Thus we see, as Bacon says, that "*ENVY . . . is a disease in a state like to INFECTION*" and this ENVY is caused by "*griefs or discontents*"; for

"When we are wrong'd and would unfold our griefs,
We are denied access unto his person." (*Ib.*, iv. 1. 77.)

Writing of the "*seditions and troubles*" in the reign of Henry VII, Bacon says, "*When the king was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a FEVER that took him every year.*" (*Works*, vi. p. 89.) When these envious fevers became a danger to the State Bacon and Shakespeare thought that the best physic was an HONOURABLE foreign war.

Bacon: Arguing against war Bacon says "*The merit of war is too outwardly glorious to be inwardly grateful.*"
(*Life*, i. p. 383.)

Shak.: "Princes have but their titles for their glory,
An outward honour for an inward toil."
(*R*3, i. 4. 78.)

Bacon: "*Princes are like to heavenly bodies which cause good or evil times*" (as "when the planets in evil mixture to disorder wander") (*Troilus*, i. 3. 94),

" and which have much veneration but no rest." (*Essay* 19.)

Again :—

Bacon : *" In this manner the aforesaid instructors set before the king the example of the celestial bodies, the sun, the moon and the rest, which have great glory and veneration but no intermission or rest."* (*Life*, iii. p. 90.)

Again, in his *Exempla Antithetorum* :—

Bacon : *" Princes, like celestial bodies, have much veneration but no rest."* (*De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

Shak. : " And for unfelt imaginations,
They often feel a world of restless cares."
(*R*3, i. 4. 80.)

" Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."
(2*H*4, iii. 1. 31.)

Bacon : But " *this* (Richmond) *is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for.*" (*Hist. Hen. VII*).

Shak. : " This pretty lad (Richmond) will prove our country's bliss,
His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
His head by nature framed to wear a crown,
His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself
Likely in time to bless a regal throne."
(3*H*6, iv. 6. 70.)

THE NOISE OF WAR

Bacon : *" Come out (man of war) you must be ever in noise."* (*Life*, i. p. 384.)

Bacon : *" The humour of war is raving."* (*Ib.*, p. 381.)

Bacon : *" Wars with their noise affright us ; when they cease,*
We are worse in peace."
(*Works*, vii. p. 272.)

Shak. : " What would you have, you curs,
That like nor peace nor war ? The one affrights you,
The other makes you proud."
(*Coriol.*, i. 1. 172.)

" Peace is a very apoplexy." (*Coriol.*, iv. 5. 238) ; and
" This apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy."
(*2H4*, i. 2. 126.)

Bacon : *" For men's minds are enervated and their manners corrupted by sluggish and inactive peace."*
(*De Aug.*, viii. iii.)

Shak. : " The cankers of a calm world and a long peace."
(*1H4*, iv. 2. 32.)

Bacon : *" In a slothful peace both courage will effeminate and manners corrupt."* (*Essay* 29.)

Shak. : " Plenty and peace breeds cowards."
(*Cymb.*, iii. 6. 21.)

Shak. : " Ay, and it makes men hate one another."
(*Coriol.*, iv. 5. 246.)

Shak. : " You cry against the noble senate, who,
Under the gods, keep you in awe, which else
Would feed on one another." (*Ib.*, i. 1. 191.)

Bacon : *" One man simply a wolf to another."*
(*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* 25.)

Now is the time for an HONOURABLE foreign war :—

Bacon : *" If it please God to change the inward troubles and seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised, into an HONOURABLE foreign war."* (*Works*, vi. p. 78.)

Bacon : *" My people and I know one another, which breeds confidence, and if there should be any bad blood left in the Kingdom, an HONOURABLE foreign war will VENT it or purify it."* (*Works*, vi. p. 119.)

Shak. : " The news is, sir, the Volsces are in arms."
" I'm glad on't : then we shall ha' means
To VENT our musty superfluity."
(*Coriol.*, i. 1. 228.)

There was not enough bread for the people, and Coriolanus apparently thinks it well to get rid of the excess of people (our musty superfluity), by making them fight the Volscians, and so to end the mutiny at home.

Shakespeare writes of an HONOURABLE war in *King John* (ii. 1, 573 and 585) where " tickling commodity " draws

the French King " from a resolved and HONOURABLE war." But Bacon also speaks of " a JUST and HONOURABLE war." (*Essay* 29), and so does Shakespeare.

We have just seen that " *if there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom an honourable foreign war will vent or purify it.*" (*Hist. Henry VII*).

Henry IV knew there was bad blood in the kingdom caused by his usurpation of the crown and the subsequent murder of Richard II ; and that is why he advised his son (Henry V) to follow Bacon's advice ; which was

Bacon : " *an energetic foreign policy calculated to distract the people from internal politics.*" (Bacon's *Commentarius solutus.*)

Shak. : " Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels ; that action, hence borne out,
May waste the memory of former days."
(*2H4*, iv. 5. 214.)

Moreover Shakespeare makes Henry V go, disguised, among his soldiers by night, and speaking of himself in the third person, he says,

" His cause being JUST, and his quarrel
HONOURABLE." (*H5*, iv. 1. 132.)

It is well known that Bacon, in his Essex Device, puts up a man to argue in favour of war and another to argue against it ; and in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare makes Hector argue against and Troilus in favour of war, and in Hector's speech there are six and a half lines which contain six reminders of Bacon. The lines are :—

" There is no lady of more softer bowels,
More spongy to SUCK IN the sense of fear,
More ready to cry out ' who knows what follows ? '
Than Hector is : the wound of peace is surety,
Surety secure ; but modest doubt is call'd
The beacon of the wise, the tent that searches
To the bottom of the worst." (*Troilus*, ii. 2. 11.)

" There is no lady of more SOFTER bowels." (Hector's speech.) Hector was a young man and

Bacon : "*A young man's bowels are SOFT and SUCCULENT.*" (*Juveni viscera mollia et succulenta*"—*Works*, ii. p. 210.)

Bacon : And "*the bowels are expressive of charity.*" (Bacon's *Prometheus.*)

Therefore, there is no lady more charitable than Hector. (See later.)

But a young man's bowels are also succulent; and "*succulenta*" comes from *succus* and *sugere* to suck.

Therefore, there is no lady whose bowels are "more SPONGY to SUCK IN the sense of fear." (*T. & C.* ii. 2.)

Bacon : And "*Doubts are as so many SUCKERS or SPONGES to draw use of knowledge.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 8. 5.)

Bacon : "*The king himself, whose continual vigilancy did SUCK IN sometimes causeless suspicions.*" (*Hist. Hen. VII—Works*, vi. p. 57.)

"SUCK IN the sense of fear." (*Hector's speech.*) And "there is no lady more ready to cry out, 'who knows what follows?' than Hector is." (Not even Cassandra.)

Bacon : "*Distrust is the sinew of wisdom.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

And

Shak. : "Modest doubt is call'd the beacon of the wise." (*Hector's speech.*)

Compare "Modest doubt" and "spongy to SUCK IN" with

"*Doubts are as so many SUCKERS or SPONGES to draw.*"

Hector was a young man, and

Bacon : "*A young man is full of bounty and mercy.*" (*Juveni benignitas et misericordia*"—*Works*, ii. p. 212.)

And this "misericordia" (pity, which is the mother of mercy) is Hector's prevailing vice :—

Troilus : "Brother, you have that vice of mercy in you."
Hector : "What vice is that, good Troilus?"

Troilus: "When many times the captive Grecian falls,
Even in the fan and wind of your fair sword,
You bid him rise, and live."
Hector: "O, 'tis fair play." (*Troilus*, v. 3. 37.)

But why is this kind of mercy a vice? Because, says Bacon,

"*He who shows mercy to his enemy denies it to himself.*"
(*De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

Therefore, says Troilus to Hector,

"For the love of all the gods,
Let's leave the hermit pity with our mothers."
(*Ib.*, v. 3. 44.)

Compare *Richard II*:—

"Forget to pity him lest thy pity prove
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart."
(v. 3. 57.)

Judge now whether "there is no lady of more softer bowels" (more charitable) "than Hector."

OVER-CONFIDENCE

Shak.: "Consider, sir, the chance of war."
(*Cymb.*, v. 5. 75.)
Bacon: "*Respice res bello varias.*"
("Consider the varying chances of war."—*Promus*, 1101.)
Shak.: "The wound of peace is surety, surety secure";
(*Hector's speech.*)
Bacon: and "*Whoever undertakes a war with prudence, generally falls upon the enemy unprepared, and nearly in a state of security.*" (*De Aug.*, ii. xiii.)
Shak.: "This happy night the Frenchmen are secure,*
Embrace we then this opportunity."
(1*H6*, ii. 1. 11);
Shak.: "And you all know security
Is mortals' chiefest enemy." (*Macb.*, iii. 5 32.)

* The King (*Henry VII*) "was never cruel when he was secure" (*sine cura*, without care, i.e., without fear for himself.—*Works*. vi. p. 193.)
"Assailed the enemies' camp, negligently guarded, as being out of fear."—*Works*, vi. p. 100.)

Bacon : "*A subject well deserving to lie continually before princes, for their diligent meditation ; lest by over-rating their own strength, they should rashly engage in too difficult and vain enterprises.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. iii) ;

Shak. : And " who knows what follows ? "
(*Hector's speech.*)

Shak. : for " the end of war's uncertain."
(*Coriol.*, v. 3. 141.)

Shak. : And " the end of it unknown to the beginning."
(*Ib.*, iii. 1. 329.)

" The tent that searches to the BOTTOM of the worst." (*Hector's speech.*)

A tent, or probe, is an instrument used by surgeons to search to the bottom of a wound, for a foreign body, or a piece of dead bone.

Shak. : " Now to the BOTTOM dost thou search my wound." (*Titus*, ii. 3. 262.)

But Bacon and Shakespeare were equally fond of using men as instruments.

The Earl of Lincoln (killed at Stoke-field) would have been such an instrument in the hands of Henry VII, who

"*was sorry for the earl's death, because, by him, he might have known the BOTTOM of his danger.*"
(*Hist. Henry VII—Works*, vi. p. 47.)

Henry would have probed the earl "*to discover to the BOTTOM of his intentions.*"* (*Ib.*, p. 144.)

Shak. : " Now I see the BOTTOM of your purpose."
(*All's Well*, iii. 7. 29.)

Bacon : "*When my Lord President of the Council came first to be Lord Treasurer, he complained to my Lord Chancellor of the troublesomeness of his PLACE ; for that the exchequer was so empty. The Lord Treasurer answered, " My Lord, be of good cheer, for now you shall see the BOTTOM of your business at the first.*" (*Works*, vii. p. 170.)

* Again, on page 194—" To learn out the BOTTOM of the conspiracy." Compare Shakespeare—" Try it out." (*H5*, iv. p. 169.)

Shak.: "It concerns me to look into the BOTTOM of my PLACE." (*Meas.*, i. 1. 79.)

Shak.: "Is there no pity sitting in the clouds
That sees into the BOTTOM of my grief?"
(*Romeo*, iii. 5. 198.)

Bacon: "*The king had gotten for his purpose two INSTRUMENTS, Empsom and Dudley.*"
(*Works*, vi. p. 217.)

Shak.: "INSTRUMENTS of some more mightier member that sets them on." (*Meas.*, v. 1. 237.)

Shak.: "Call me what INSTRUMENT you will."
(*Ham.*, iii. 2. 387.)

Shak.: "What poor an INSTRUMENT may do a noble deed." (*Ant. and Cleo.*, v. 2. 236.)

So much then for "the tent that searches to the BOTTOM of the worst."

Bacon: "*I know not how but marital men are given to love.*" (*Essay* 10) and "*this passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity.*" (*Ib.*)

Shak.: "Prosperity's the very bond of love."
(*W. Tale*, iv. 4. 583.)

After his war with France, Henry V was at the very height of prosperity, and it was then that he made love to Katharine. He purposed to have her for his comfort and consort, just as Antony Bacon was "*comfort and consort*" to his brother Francis (*Northumberland MS.*). But he also wanted that other kind of consort which Bacon speaks of in his *Sylva Sylvarum* (§ 278) and which we now spell "concert" (orchestral music); he wanted to hear Katharine's broken music:—

Bacon: "*In that music which we call BROKEN music, or CONSORT music, some consorts of instruments are sweeter than others . . . organs and the voice agree well.*" (*Syl., Syl.*, §278.)

Nashe: "*He speaks nothing but BROKEN English like a French doctor.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 240.)

But if it's a she "her voice is music," as in *Edward III*, ii. 1. 106, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. 119 and 20.

Then she speaks BROKEN music and BROKEN English like a French princess :—

Shak. : " Come, your answer in BROKEN music ; for thy voice is music, and thy English BROKEN ; therefore, queen of all, Katharine, break your mind to me in BROKEN English ; wilt thou have me ? " (*H5*, v. 2. 293.)

Again in his 37th essay :—

Bacon : *" I understand that the song be in quire placed aloft, and accompanied with some BROKEN music."*

Shak. : " What music is this ? I do but partly know, sir ; it is music in parts. . . . Here is good BROKEN music." (*Troilus*, iii. 1. 17 and 52.)

Turn now to *Romeo and Juliet* (iii. 1. 47) and observe that the author takes a similar interest in these two kinds of CONSORT :—

Shak. : " Mercutio, thou CONSORT'ST with Romeo." " CONSORT ! what, dost thou make us minstrels ? an thou make minstrels of us, look to hear nothing but discords."

Bacon : *" The sense of hearing and the kinds of music have most operation on manners ; as to encourage men and make them warlike ; to make them soft and effeminate ; to make them grave ; to make them light ; and to make them gentle and inclined to pity."* (*Syl., Syl.*, § 114.)

Shak. : " Music oft hath such a charm,
To make bad good, and good provoke to harm."
(*Meas.*, iv. 1. 15.)

All nations have music to encourage men and make them warlike ; and where did you hear anything more simple or more beautiful than our massed military bands playing, " Onward Christian Soldiers " in York Minster, as many of us did during the last great war ?

Shak. : Such music takes away fear ; and " Of all base passions fear is the most accurst." (*1H6*, v. 2—F.F.)

Bacon : "*Fear causeth paleness, trembling, the standing of the hair upright, STARTING and scriching.*" (*Syl., Syl.—Works*, ii. p. 567.)

Bacon : "*Fear and shame are likewise infective ; for we see that the STARTING of one will make another ready to START.*" (*Ib.*, p. 653.)

Shak. : "Tremble and START at wagging of a straw." (*R*3. iii. 5. 7.)

Shak. : "Yet, in reason, no man should possess him with any appearance of fear, lest he, by showing it, dishearten his army." (*H*5, iv. 1. 114.)

As regards shame :—

Bacon : "*When one man is out of countenance in a company, others do likewise BLUSH in his behalf.*" (*Syl. Syl.—Works*, ii. p. 567.)

A good example of this comes in *Measure for Measure* :—

Bacon : "*Let there be, besides penalty, a note of infamy by way of admonishing others, and chastising delinquents, as it were, by putting them to the BLUSH with shame.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. iii. 40.)

Claudio : "Fellow, why doest thou show me thus to the world ?" (*Meas.*, i. 2. 120.)

Provost : "I do it not in evil disposition,
But from Lord Angelo by special charge."

Claudio has already been censured and condemned to death, so that this exposure to the world on his way to prison is something over and above the penalty, and appears to represent that "*note of infamy by way of admonishing others . . . by putting them to the BLUSH with shame.*"

And when Angelo is exposed to the world for a similar offence, we can almost see his colleague, Escalus, blushing in his behalf, where he says,

> "I am sorry, one so learned and so wise
> As you, Lord Angelo, have still appear'd,
> Should slip so grossly." (*Meas.*, v. 1. 475.)

In all these things, which have only been touched upon, most of the quotations from Bacon come from his *History of Henry VII* (1622) ; his *De Augmentis* of 1623, and his

Sylva Sylvarum of 1626; and before all these dates the reputed authors of the plays except Bacon were dead and could not have seen any of them; and yet we see how much greater help Bacon is to the understanding of Shakespeare than Shakespeare is to the understanding of Bacon. Certain it is that all men who have studied Bacon's works can appreciate the plays to a far greater extent than those who have not. In short, Bacon is the best commentator on "Shakespeare."

Chapter IX

BACON, SHAKESPEARE, AND OUR PHILOLOGISTS

"Before we laugh at Bacon for his abortive word-experiments, we had better wait for the issue of Dr. Murray's great Dictionary which will tell us to how many of these experiments we are indebted for words now current in our language"; and "not till the all-knowing Dictionary appears shall we be in possession of the whole truth." (Dr. E. A. Abbott's preface to Mrs. Pott's *Promus*—1883.)

Now let us see what this great Dictionary does not tell us, and why.

Look up "keep," example 37 (live, lodge, dwell, reside). I had not long been in Cambridge before an undergraduate asked, "Where do you keep?" And when I hesitated to answer, he said, "Do you live in college or in lodgings?"

This word, in this sense, is not used elsewhere in the British Empire. It occurs in Shakespeare in one tense or another (keep, keeps, keepest, kept) eighteen times. The following examples were collected some years ago from a reprint of the first folio, but for the convenience of readers the references here recorded are from the Globe edition of 1864.

1. "Knock at his study where they say he keeps."
(*Titus Andr.*, v. 2. 5.)
2. "A Spaniard that keeps here in the court."
(*L.L.L.*, iv. 1. 99.)

3. " As an outlaw in his castle keeps."
(1*H6*, iii. 1. 46.)
4. His chief followers lodge in towns . . . while he himself keeps in the cold field."
(3*H6*, iv. 3. 14.)
5. "Where youth, and cost, and witless bravery keeps."
(*Meas.*, i. 3. 10.)
6. " This habitation where thou keep'st."
(*Ib.*, iii. 1. 10.)
7. " Favours that keep within." (*Ib.*, v. 1. 16.)
8. " And where they keep." (*Ham.*, ii. 1. 8.)
9. " I will keep where there is wit stirring."
(*Troilus*, ii. 1. 128.)
10. " In what place of the field doth Calchas keep ? "
(*Ib.*, iv. 5. 278.)
11. " Keeps still in Dunsinane." (*Macb.*, v. 4. 9.)
12. " Keep in Tunis." (*Tempest*, ii. 1. 258.)
13. " Where the madcap duke his uncle kept."
(1*H4*, i. 3. 244.)
14. " It kept where I kept." (*Pericles*, ii. 1. 136.)
15. " The most impenetrable cur
That ever kept with men." (*Merchant*, iii. 3. 19.)
16. " Creatures of prey that keep upon't."
(*W. Tale*, iii. 3. 13.)
17. " And sometime where earth-delving conies keep."
(*Venus*, line 687.)
18. " Treason and murder ever kept together."
(*H5*, ii. 2. 105.)

The great Dictionary does not record any of the examples just given under No. 37, but faithfully records Philemon Holland, who, in his translation of Pliny's *Natural History*, tells us " where the pigmæans by report do keep."* When Bacon entered Trinity College (1573) Holland was a minor fellow of the same college, and a major fellow in 1574, but his translation was not published before 1601. Are we to suppose that the compilers of the great Dictionary knew this book better than they knew Shakespeare ? Most assuredly they did not, but if they had recorded even a few of the examples in the plays what would have been the

* Compare No. 16 above.

effect? After telling us for so many years that Shakespeare derived his education from the Stratford grammar school, would it not have told the world that he was a Cambridge man? This was, in fact, the argument advanced by Cambridge students, who, not many years ago, began to take more interest in the plays, and when they noticed the frequent use of this word, they argued that the author of the plays must have been educated in Cambridge University. They accordingly searched both the University and College records from 1580 to 1600, and came home quite disappointed because they had not even then realized that Shakespeare was another name for Bacon. We may be sure that most of the compilers of the great Dictionary belonged to the Stratford faction, and did not intend to give themselves or their friends away, and yet these omissions produce the very opposite effect.

Now look up "Heresiarch," and you will find the first example recorded is dated 1624, but you may be sure that the compilers of the Dictionary knew that "Heresiarchae" was used by Bacon 32 years earlier (*Conference of Pleasure*, 1592), and we now know for certain that *King John* and *Henry VIII* could not have been written without the aid of Bacon, and in the first you will find, "Let go the hand of that arch-heretic" (iii. 1. 192) and in the second, "He's a most arch-heretic, a pestilence that does infect the land" (v. 1. 45). Clearly the all-knowing Dictionary does not tell you all it knows, and it would seem that Dr. Abbott was too flattering when he said, "Not till the all-knowing Dictionary appears shall we be in possession of the whole truth."

Now look up "traducement." This word was used by Bacon earlier (*Adv.*, i. 3. 3—1605) and more often than by Shakespeare (*Coriol.*, i. 9. 22—1623). The example from Shakespeare is recorded, but no example from Bacon. Many more examples of these omissions might be given but it is a mere waste of time.

In 1595, two years after the publication of *Venus and Adonis*, William Covell, student of Christ's College, and afterwards fellow of Queens' College (1589) published in the University his "*Polymanteia*," but did not put his name to it. There is a copy of it in the Cambridge University

library, another in the Bodleian at Oxford, another in the British Museum, and another in the Marsh library in Dublin. There is also a copy of the second issue in the Folger library at Washington, with Covell's name to it, but I cannot hear of any copy of this second issue in the British Isles.

This book tells us that the author of *Venus and Adonis* was educated in the University, and afterwards at the Inns of Court ; and you may guess which University by " where earth-delving conies keep," because the word " keep," in this sense, is not used in Oxford University, nor was it used there in Bacon's time.

When people first began to advance Bacon's name as the principal author of the plays, the Stratfordians called it " madhouse chatter," but when they realized that most of the inmates of the madhouses in England belonged to their own faction they no longer used this strange argument.

About twenty years ago an old Oxford scholar used to lunch wth me and on one of these occasions there had been a leading article in *The Times* concerning the authorship of the Shakespeare plays. He had not seen it, but said the question had long ago been decided in Bacon's favour, and that in the sixties of last century he and a few eminent Latin and Greek scholars in Oxford University began to doubt whether a boy brought up in one of the grammar-schools which had recently been planted among the barbarians in England could have written *Hamlet* or *Love's Labour's Lost*, so they set to work to investigate the true authorship, and their conclusion was unanimously in favour of Bacon. This was, I think, the first time that a group of men had worked at the subject, although single individuals had already arrived at the same conclusion. The Cambridge men are perhaps a little slower than the Oxford men, and this may be because many of Bacon's works had remained in the Cambridge University library for more than three hundred years with the pages still uncut, so that I was forced to fetch a paper-knife before I could read them. That the particular scholar who used to lunch with me was not mad may be inferred from the fact that he won the Diamond Sculls, and had four other

world's medals to his credit for athletics, and he could read Latin and Greek as fast as he could read English. He had indeed a sound mind in a sound body. Where will you find such another among our professors of English literature ?

Pick up any book written by a professor of English literature and when you come upon a Chapter where an attempt is made to show some difference in opinion between Bacon and Shakespeare you can tell at once that not one of these professors has ever read Bacon's works with attention, otherwise they would not make the blunders they do. When Sir Sidney Lee tackled the subject it seems he was forced to ask other people their opinions, which is a sure sign that he had not studied Bacon's works. He shook hands with those who agreed with him, and turned his back upon those who did not, and yet those who disagreed with him knew far more about Bacon than his friends, but unfortunately their books are not to be found in many of our great municipal libraries, not even in the London library. Ask for the works of Judge N. Holmes, Mr. W. F. C. Wigston or Mr. Edwin Reed, and they cannot oblige you. What should we think of a judge who refused to hear both sides in a dispute ?

Professor Caroline Spurgeon is a grave offender, and perhaps at her worst in dealing with Bacon, Shakespeare and the Bible ; but as this is such a huge subject we must leave the reader to compare what she says on page 20 (*Shakespeare's Imagery*) with Mr. Richmond Noble's (*Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge*—1935). This entertaining book should be widely and attentively read. It would have been more entertaining if Mr. Noble had known as much about Bacon as he does about Shakespeare ; in which case, after telling us that " Shakespeare was very fond of likening a lifetime to a span " (p. 79) he would surely have quoted the following from Bacon :—

" *The world's a bubble, and the life of man less than a span.*"
(*Works*, vii. p. 271.)

And he might also have referred us to Bacon's *Novum Organum* (ii. xiii. 28), where he uses a " span," as a measure, three times in one paragraph.

Again, on page 78 :—" This comparison of a life to a tale was a favourite of Shakespeare's."

> Life is as tedious as a twice told tale.
> (*K. John*, iii. 4. 108.)

Mr. Noble does not quote the next line, which is :

> Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man.

"We bring our years to an end as it were a tale that is told."
(*Ps.* xc. 9.)

We may wonder why Shakespeare wrote " tedious " ; for the next verse says, " So soon passeth it away and we are gone."

Here again, I think, Mr. Noble would have quoted the following from Bacon if he had been familiar with his work :—

> *As a tale told, which sometimes men attend,*
> *And sometimes not, our life steals to an end.*
> (*Works*, vii. p. 279.)

Do not the words " and sometimes not " express a kind of " tediousness " such as " vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man ? " And if so, why did Bacon also think that life was tedious if " *the life of man* (is) *less than a span*," and if it " so soon passeth it away " ?

> " Behold, thou hast made my days as it were a span long." (Ps. xxxix. 6.)

If Bacon and Shakespeare thought that life was short and tedious, are we to conclude that they were ungodly ? " For the ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, our life is short and tedious." (*Wisdom of Solomon*, ii. 1.)

One more example from Mr. Noble's book. He justly remarks that Bacon and Shakespeare (p. 101) wrote " Sabaoth " when they should have written " Sabbath." Then, " whether Shakespeare later became wiser in the matter or not, certain it is that after the *Merchant of Venice* he left " Sabbath " and " Sabaoth " severely alone " (p. 102.)

My own finding is that Shakespeare did not leave them alone but changed " Sabaoth " to " Sabbath " in the 1623

folio edition of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Richard III.* Even so, Mr. Noble does not tell us that Bacon did exactly the same. In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) he writes "Sabaoth" (*Works*, iii. p. 77) but in the *De Augmentis* (1623) it is changed to "Sabbath," but for some reason or other the little Oxford edition of the "*Advancement*" (*World's Classics*) does not record "Sabaoth," but you will find it in Ellis and Spedding (*Works*, i. p. 822). Mr. Noble has missed a great number of passages in the plays which are drawn from the Bible. Ecclesiastes x. 1; Proverbs, xii. 10; xxix, 21; xxv. 26, and many others are not mentioned at all, and the reason is that he was none too familiar with Bacon's works, but, in spite of these omissions, Mr. Noble's book is by far the best we have on this particular subject.

In translating the Bible, Bacon was sometimes a law unto himself. If he thought other translations did not express the Hebrew meaning he would give his own; and at times he would tell us, not what Solomon said but, what he thought Solomon meant; and in these things Shakespeare follows Bacon like a spaniel, and this is the surest way of determining that the two men are one and the same.

If Bacon sometimes wrote under the name of Nashe we should expect Nashe also to write "Sabaoth" for "Sabbath," and so he does: "*He made as much haste as he could to St. Albans, where he stayed one whole Sabaoth at the Christopher.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 79.) Is it not strange that Bacon, Shakespeare and Nashe should all take an interest in St. Albans, but none in Stratford-on-Avon? Nashe never mentions Bacon or Shakespeare, and Shakespeare never mentions Bacon or Nashe, but Bacon does write the names of the other two on the outside sheet of the *Northumberland MSS.* and it is quite certain that they all knew each other uncommonly well.

Observe now what mischief may be done by some of our professors of English literature. On page 29 (*Shakespeare's Imagery*) Professor Spurgeon writes, "On certain abstract subjects (such as the action of time) they (Bacon and Shakespeare) held diametrically opposite views," and she quotes the following from *Lucrece*:—

Time's glory is to calm contending Kings,
To unmask falsehood, and bring truth to light.
(939–940.)

Not only can it be proved that *Lucrece* could not have been written without the help of Bacon, but he says the same thing no less than ten times in his prose works.

"Shakespeare" fetched it from Aulus Gellius and so did Bacon :—

"*Alius quidam veterum poetarum . . . veritatem temporis filiam esse dixit.*" (*Noctes Atticae*, xii. xi.)
(Another one of the old poets . . . called truth the daughter of time) ;

Bacon : "*Recte enim veritas temporis filia dicitur.*" (*Nov. Org.*, i. 84.)
(For rightly is truth called the daughter of time.)

Nashe : "*Veritas temporis filia, it is only time that revealeth all things.*" (*Vol.* iii. p. 41.)
"Time sees and hears all, and will all reveal." (*Sophocles.*)

If truth is the daughter of time, time must be her father, and if you turn to the title page of Bacon's first edition of the *New Atlantis* you will see old father time with his scythe bringing his daughter to light out of a dark cave, and round these figures are : "*Occulta veritas tempore patet.*" (Hidden truth comes to light by time) ; and if you turn to the fourth edition you will find an emblem on the title page which contains, "*Veritas filia temporis.*" (Truth is the daughter of time.)

Other examples are :—

Bacon : "*The inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 24. 1.)

Bacon : "*The inseparable property of time, which is daily to disclose truth.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. iii.)

Bacon : "*Let me give every man his due, as I give time his due, which it is to discover truth.*" (*Praise of Knowledge, Life*, i. p. 125.)

Bacon : "*Let great authors, therefore, have their due, but so as not to defraud time, which is the author of authors, and the PARENT of truth.*" (*Works*, i. p. 458.)

Shak.: Time's the King of men;
He's both their PARENT, and he is their grave."
(*Pericles*, ii. 3. 45.)

Bacon: "*So give authors their due, as you give time his due, which is to discover truth,*" (*Promus, Works*, vii. p. 192.)

Bacon: "*Time trieth troth.*" (*Ib.*, p. 203.)

Nashe: "*Experience and time try all things.*" (*Vol.* i. p. 165.)

Bacon: "*As time, which is the author of authors, be not deprived of his due, which is further and further to discover truth.*" (*Adv.*, i. 4. 12.)

Here then we have two examples from Bacon's *Advancement;* two from the *De Augmentis;* two from his *Promus;* two from the *New Atlantis;* one from his *Novum Organum* and one from his *Conference of Pleasure.* After all this you would think it impossible to find any professor of literature who would say as regards time and truth Bacon and Shakespeare held diametrically opposite views.

A lady wrote from London to say she had been talking to an intelligent man about Bacon and Shakespeare, and he said "Their minds were diametrically opposite"; so we may see what mischief such books as Professor Spurgeon's may do, and the more so because her book is in both our lending and our reference library at Bath, and the gulls swallow all she says as if it were gospel truth, without attempting to investigate the matter for themselves. Worse than this is the fact that our municipal library does keep books which are opposed to Dr. Spurgeon's views.

From the above quotations it will be seen that the office of time is to "reveal" (*Nashe*), to "bring to light" (*Shak.*), and "to disclose truth" (*Bacon*); but does not "disclose" come from the Latin "*discludere,*" which means to reveal or bring to light? and when Bacon and Shakespeare refer to birds they both use the word "disclose":—

Shak.: Anon, as patient as the female dove,
When that her golden couplets are DISCLOSED
Her silence will sit drooping. (*Ham.*, v. 1. 309.)

Bacon: "*It is reported by the ancients, that the ostrich*

layeth her eggs under sand, where the heat of the sun DISCLOSES them." (*Syl. Syl.*, § 856.)

And when Hamlet's melancholy sat on brood, his uncle said,

Shak.: There's something in his soul,
O'er which is melancholy sits on brood,
And I do fear the HATCH and the DISCLOSE
Will be some danger. (*Ham.*, iii. 1. 172.)

Bacon: "*For birds there is double inquiry; the distance between the treading or coupling and the laying of the egg; and again between the egg laid, and the DISCLOSING or HATCHING.*" (*Syl., Syl.*, § 759.)

When the "female dove" sits on her eggs to hatch them, she "revealeth," "bringeth to light," and "discloseth" the little "golden couplets," which are the result of the "treading or coupling." But, as Nashe says, "*It is only time that revealeth all things*," and when Bacon says "*the distance between*," he means the distance in time.

Professor Dowden, in his *Hamlet*, took some notice of "the hatch and the disclose" of "Shakespeare," but did not compare him with the "*disclosing or hatching*" of Bacon, not because he wished to conceal this comparison, but because he had not read Bacon with attention.

Now, Professor Dowden also took some interest in Shakespeare's "life in excrements," as we shall see.

In preparing the land (of garden or farm) for making it more fruitful, men use muck, compost and excrement. Professor Spurgeon quotes "Money is like muck, not good except it be spread," and says this is "a remark peculiarly characteristic of Bacon." Not so, Professor Spurgeon, Bacon fetched it from Mr. Bettenham and so did "Shakespeare."

Bacon: "*Mr. Bettenham, reader of Gray's Inn, used to say that riches were like muck; when it lay upon a heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was the cause of much fruit.*" (*Works*, vii. p. 160.)

Nashe: "*As the hog is still grunting, digging and rooting*

in the muck, so is the usurer still turning, digging and rooting in the muck of this world." (*Vol.* iv. p. 150.)

Shak.: "The common muck of the world" (Money.) (*Coriol.*, ii, 2, 130.)

As regards "compost":—

Bacon: "*We have great variety of composts . . . for the making of the earth fruitful.*" *New Atlantis.*)

But compost also makes the weeds grow; therefore,

Shak.: Do not spread the compost on the weeds
To make them ranker. (*Ham.*, iii. 4. 151.)

As regards excrements:—

Shak.: Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
Start up and stand on end. (*Ham.*, iii. 4. 121.)

To understand the meaning of "life in excrements" we must turn to Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* (*Works*, ii. p. 475), where he has hotbeds made of various excrements (cow, horse, swine, etc.). Upon these he has sifted earth; and upon this earth he has seeds sprinkled, which had been previously steeped all night in water mixed with cow-dung. He watches the effect day by day. In one of the beds "*the turnip-seed and the wheat came up half an inch above the ground within two days after, without any watering.*" During this time the sifted earth had been stealing, feeding and breeding by a composture stolen from excrements; so, as Timon says, "The earth's a thief that feeds and breeds by a composture stolen from general excrements." (*Timon*, iv. 3. 445.)

This young wheat, this life in excrements, resembles the hair on the top of the head of a northern European cut to within half an inch of the scalp. Shakespeare and Bacon, following Aristotle, make the same mistake in speaking of hair as excrements. They are outgrowths but not excerned. Hairs, nails, horns of beasts and feathers of birds are all outgrowths, which feed and breed by the blood. A wart is also an outgrowth and so is the mistletoe. They are both fixed parasites, the one is a blood-sucker and the other sap-sucker. Prof. Dowden would have us substitute "outgrowths" for "excrements," but what sense is there in

saying " Your bedded hair, like life in outgrowths, start up and stand an end," when outgrowths may grow in any direction ? The mistletoe more often grows downwards than upwards, and a wart grows perpendicular to any part of the body where it happens to be ; on the sole of the foot it grows downwards.

Observe once more what confusion Professor Dowden makes of the " dram of eale " passage in *Hamlet* (i. 4) which, if he had read Bacon's *De Augmentis* (viii. ii *parabola* xi.), he would have seen that this passage was intended to be but a modified form of Ecclesiastes x. 1, and he would also have known that Bacon was the first man in the world to explain it, and that (excepting Nashe) Bacon knew more about *Hamlet* than any man that has ever lived before or since its production, for the simple reason that he was the principal author of it.

Shelley says, " Bacon was a poet " (*Prose, Vol.* ii. p. 8), but many will tell you that Bacon was not a poet. If so, why did Bacon write to a friend, and a poet, asking a favour of him and end his letter with " *so desiring you to be good to concealed poets* " ; as much as to say, my chief occupation is writing poetry, but I do not wish it to be known. His friend should have destroyed this letter ; but, however, it has come down to us. (*Life*, iii. p. 65.)

Now, if a man writes poetry and does not wish it to be known, he must write under some other name or no name at all. Again, if Bacon was not a poet, why did the poets of the day bring their verses to him for his condemnation or approval, as he intimates that they did in his *De Augmentis* (viii. ii.) ? And why does James I refer to him as " Apollo," as he does in a marginal note (*Life*, v. p. 276) ? And why did Bacon, towards the end of his life, write, " *I have though in a despised weed procured the good of all men ?* " Bacon himself tells us that a weed is a cloak to hide a man's identity :—

> " *This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take a holy habit than a holy place, and clad himself like a hermit and in that WEED wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken.*" (*Hist., Hen. VII.*)

But why should Bacon wish to disguise himself and remain concealed?

First, because stage-playing in his time was looked upon as a thing of low repute:—

> "*It is a thing indeed, if practised professionally, of low repute* (the Latin words is "*infamis*"); *but if it be made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use. I mean stage-playing: an art which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a decent carriage of the countenance and gesture, gives not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to bear being looked at.*" (*De Aug.*, vi. iv. near the end.)

In another place, speaking of "*Dramatica poesis*," he says,

> "*Dramatic Poesy, which has had the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and of corruption. Now of corruptions in this kind we have enough; but the discipline has in our times been plainly neglected. And though in modern states play-acting is esteemed but as a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting; yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue. Nay, it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician's bow by which men's minds may be played upon. And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when they are gathered together than when they are alone.*" (*De Aug.*, ii. xiii.)

Is not this true of the Shakespeare plays?

Bacon continued:—

> "*The example which I shall give, taken from Tacitus, is that of one Vibulenus, formerly an actor, then a soldier in the Pannonian legions. . . .*"* (*De Aug.*, vi. iv; *Works*, iv. p. 496.)

In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) Bacon shows how men's minds were played upon by this man, and how he "*put the Pannonian Armies into an extreme tumult and*

* For Pannonians in Shakespeare see *Cymb.*, iii. 1. 74, and iii. 7. 3.

combustion." (*Adv.*, ii. 19, 2—Oxford edition, 1929, World's Classics), and how he played upon them may be found in this little book.

Then, again, Bacon aspired to be a statesman, and

" Poets were ever thought unfit for state."
(The play of *Sir Thomas More*, iii. 2. 219.)

Again, writing under the name of Nashe, he says,

" To those that demand, what fruits the poets of our times bring forth, or wherein they are able to prove themselves necessary to the state? Thus I answer—First and foremost they have cleansed our language from barbarism, and made the vulgar sort, here in London, to aspire to a richer purity of speech, than is communicated with the commonalty of any nation under heaven. The virtuous by their praises they encourage to be more virtuous," etc.
(*Nashe, Vol.* ii. p. 61—1592.)

Compare Bacon—*" Used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue."*

In his prose works Bacon did his best to leave Aristotle behind, and to *" enlarge the bonds of human empire,"** but, in these, he makes no attempt to hide his identity. Therefore when he says, *" I have though in a despised WEED procured the good of all men,"* he must have some other work in mind. Now the plays have done a great deal to procure the good of all men, or at least all Englishmen. They have made England and the English language known all over the world; and what a monster of ingratitude must that Englishman be, who says, " What does it matter who wrote the Shakespeare plays? "

Bacon and Shakespeare were both interested in the 104th Psalm. Bacon in his verse translation writes of:

" the digging conies,"
(*Works*, vii. p. 282.)

while Shakespeare in the line from *Venus and Adonis*, quoted in this article in connection with the Cambridge expression " keeps," has:

" earth-delving conies."

* *New Atlantis*, near the end.

The Bible does not use either " digging " or " delving." Surely this helps to show that Bacon Wrote *Venus and Adonis.*

What the Bible says is :

" The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats ; and the rocks for the conies."

In his *Apoththegms,* Bacon tells a little joke about conies :

" A company of scholars going together to catch conies, carried one scholar with them, which had not much more wit than he was born with ; and to him they gave in charge that, if he saw any, he should be silent for fear of scaring them. But he no sooner espied a company of rabbits before the rest, but he cried aloud, " *Ecce multi cuniculi !* " which in English signifies, behold many conies ; which he had no sooner said, but the conies ran to their burrows : and he being checked by them for it answered " Who the devil would have thought that the rabbits understood Latin ? "

This shows how fond Bacon was of conies and their habits.

Whitgift, who became the famous Archbishop of that name, was Bacon's tutor at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1573–5. It was Whitgift who, on 28th November, 1582, as Bishop of Worcester, insisted upon a bond against impediments to safeguard himself by reason of pre-contract or consanguinity which might imperil the marriage of " William Shagspere and Anna Hathaway of Stratford." He clearly had some reason to make him feel uneasy, having on the previous day authorised the marriage between " William Shaxpere and Anna Whatley of Temple Grafton." Two farmers of Shottery Sandells and Richardson, were the sole sureties in the bond and were friends of Anna Hathaway's father. Sir Sidney Lee says that they " doubtless secured the deed on their own initiative so that Shakespeare (*sic*) might have small opportunity of evading a step which his intimacy with their friend's daughter had rendered essential to her reputation. . . . Within six months of the marriage bond—in May, 1583—a daughter was born."

It was Whitgift who, in 1593, as Archbishop of Canterbury, authorised the printing of *Venus and Adonis*—a

most surprising act of condescension on the part of a strict Churchman, and only understandable if he wanted to help an ex-pupil. Books less licentious than *Venus and Adonis* were either "stayed" or, after publication, ordered to be collected and burnt. Such was the case with Hall's *Satires* which, the Archbishop decreed, should be "presentlye broughte to the Bp. of London to be burnte." Hall later became Bishop of Norwich.

Chapter X

THE FAMOUS SPEECH OF SIR THOMAS MOORE

The play of Sir Thomas Moore is the last of *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke, which may be found in almost any library. In Act ii. Scene iv. there is a famous speech written by a man who believed in the divine right of kings. He believed that Religion was the chief support of a king, and that the most effective way of holding the attention of a mob was by question and answer.

In the time of Henry VIII Thomas Moore quelled a rebellion in London, for which he was raised to the title of Sir Thomas Moore. Taking for his text the Latin version of Psalm lxxxii, 6 and 7, he preached religion to the rebels, and told them that because they resisted the king's government they were in arms against God himself:

Moore: Let me set up before your thoughts, good friends,
On supposition; which if you will mark,
You shall perceive how horrible a shape
Your innovation bears: first, 'tis a sin
Which oft th'apostle did forewarn us of,
Urging obedience to authority;*
And 'twere no error if I told you all,
You were in arms 'gainst your God himself.
Rebels: Marry, God forbid that!

* Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls (*Hebrews*, xiii. 17). See also Romans, xiii. 1.

Moore: Nay, certainly you are;
For to the King God hath his office LENT,
Of dread, of justice, power and command.
Hath bid him rule and will'd you to obey;
And to add ampler majesty to this,
He hath not only LENT the King his FIGURE,
His throne and sword, but GIVEN him his own name,
Calls him a god on earth.
(ii. 4. 121.)

Bacon: "*A King is a mortal God on earth unto whom the living God hath LENT his own name as a great honour; but withal told him he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself that God hath with his name IMPARTED unto him his nature also.*" (*Essay of a King.*)

In the last three lines of Moore's speech we have "lent," "given," and "a God on earth"; and in Bacon we have "a God on earth," "lent" and "imparted unto"; and "given" and "imparted unto" are all one.

Bacon: "*Kings are stiled Gods upon earth, not absolute, but Dixi Dii estis, and the next words are, sed moriemini sicut homines; they shall die like men.*" (*Life,* vi. p. 15.)

Latin Bible: "*Ego dixi Dii estis . . . vos autem sicut homines moriemini et sicut unus de principibus cadetis.*" (Ps. lxxxii. 6 and 7.)

(I have said, ye are gods . . . But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.)

Shak.: As regards "those mysteries which heaven will not have earth to know." (*Coriol.*, iv. 2. 35.)

Bacon: "*We ought not to attempt to draw down or to submit the mysteries of God to our reason.*" (*Adv.*, ii. 6. 1.)

For

Nashe: "*The secrets of God must not be searched into.*" (*Vol.*, ii. p. 218.)

Moore: And if God "hath lent the King his figure" (Moore's speech), then the King must be "the figure of God's majesty."

And if "*the secrets of God must not be searched into,*" neither must the secrets of "the figure of God's majesty" (the King) nor of "him that God himself installs" (The King).

Nashe: For "*Kings are Gods on earth their actions must not be sounded by their subjects.*" (*Vol.* ii. p. 218.)

And Shakespeare must have thought the same when he wrote,

And shall the figure of God's majesty (Richard II)
Be judged by subject? (*R2*, iv. 1. 125.)

In a letter to King James, Bacon calls him "*God's lieutenant on earth*" (*Life*, v. p. 249), and in another place he says,

Bacon: "*All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances,' Memento quod es homo'; and 'Memento quod es Deus,' or 'Vice Dei.'*" (*Essay XIX.*)

(Remember that thou art a man; and remember that thou art a God, or vice-God.)

Bacon: And "*To resist* (or rise against) *God's vice-Gods* (*Dei vices*) . . . *is like making war on God himself*" (*Theomachia quaedam—Works*, i. p. 692.)

Moore: What do you then,
Rising 'gainst him that God himself installs,
But rise 'gainst God?* (ii. 4. 128.)

Therefore,

Moore: 'Twere no error if I told you all,
You were in arms 'gainst your God himself.
(*Ib.*, ii. 4. 118.)
Quod erat demonstrandum.

Come now for a moment to *Measure for Measure.*

When Moore quelled the London rebellion, Henry VIII was the man of absolute power and place here in England; and, in *Measure for Measure*, the duke was the man of "absolute power and place here in Vienna," and when he delivered over to Lord Angelo "my absolute power and place" he asked Escalus,

* "The powers that be are ordained by God." (Romans, xiii 1.)

What FIGURE of us think you he will bear ?
For you must know, we have with special soul
Elected him our absence to supply,
LENT him our terror, dress'd him in our love,
And GIVEN his deputation all the organs
Of our own power, what think you of it ?

Escalus : If any in Vienna be of worth
To undergo such ample grace and honour,
It is Lord Angelo. (I. 1.)

The question " what figure of us think you he will bear ? " implies that the duke had lent Angelo his figure, as in Moore's speech :

And, to add ampler majesty to this,
He hath not only lent the King his figure.

And in place of " Lent him our terror," Moore says, " To the King God hath his office lent, of dread, etc. And " dread " and " terror " are all one. And in place of Moore's " given him his own name, calls him a God on earth," the Duke says, " Given his deputation all the organs of our own power," such as " his throne and sword " (of justice) and made him equal to a King who is " *a mortal God on earth* " ; for as Henry VIII was the supreme equity judge in his time, so was Angelo in his. And of those words " ample grace and honour " used by Escalus in his reply ; " ample " brings us back to Moore's " ampler majesty to this " ; and " honour " brings us back to Bacon's

" *Lent him his own name as a great honour.*"
(*Essay of a King*) ;

ample to ampler, and honour to honour.

" Dress'd him in our love " :—

Addressing the judges in the Star Chamber, 1617, Bacon dressed them in his love, where he says, " *Do good to the people, love them and give them justice.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 211.)

The duke (a judge) addressing Angelo (another judge), says,

Mortality and mercy in Vienna
Live in thy tongue and heart.
(*Meas.*, i. 1. 45.)

And although

> We have strict statutes and most biting laws
> The needful bits and curbs to HEADSTRONG steeds.
> (*Meas.*, i. 3. 20.)

Bacon: "*Nevertheless I would not have you HEADSTRONG but heart-strong.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 201.)

Bacon: "*He* (the King) *must make Religion the rule of government. . . . And the King that holds not Religion the best reason of State, is void of all piety and justice the supporters of a King.*"
(*Essay of a King.*)

Moore's speech is based upon the supposition that Religion is the chief support of a King. He uses Religion to quell the rebels, and puts his own interpretation on the Scripture where he says, "Calls him a god on earth," so that he can put this further question to them, and tell them how to make amends :—

Moore:
> What do you to your souls
> In doing this? O, desperate as you are,
> Wash your foul minds with tears, and those same hands
> That you like rebels lift against the peace,
> Lift up for peace, and your unreverent knees,
> Make them your feet to kneel to be forgiven!
> (ii. 4. 131.)

Where do we find something like this in Shakespeare? Surely in the Jack Cade rebellion, where Lord Say, like Sir Thomas Moore, puts a question to the rebels, makes use of religion and shows a similar regard for their souls :—

Shak.:
> If when you make your prayers,
> God should be so obdurate as yourselves,
> How would it fare with your departed souls?
> And therefore yet relent. (2*H6*, iv. 7. 121.)

Similarly in *Measure for Measure* :—

> How would you be,
> If He, which is the top of judgment, should
> But judge you as you are? O, think on that;
> And mercy then will breathe within your lips,
> Like man new made. (ii. 2. 75.)

Why, all the souls that were were forfeit once.
(*Ib.*, ii. 2. 73.)

And where do we find a woman making her knees her feet? Surely in *Richard II*, where the Duchess of York, pleading for Rutland's life, says to King Henry IV,

For ever will I walk upon my knees.
(*R2*, v. 3. 93.)

Bacon: "*He* (the King) *must always resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy.*" (*Essay of a King.*)

For

Shak.: "Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge."
(*Titus*, i. 1. 119.)
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
It is an attribute of God himself;
And earthly power (the King's) doth then show likest God's
When mercy seasons justice.
(*Mer. of Ven.*, iv. 1. 194.)

Bacon: "*And justice and mercy are the true supporters of his royal throne.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 37.)

Moore: Say now the King,
As he is clement, if the offender mourn.
(ii. 4. 144.)

Did not Rutland, the traitor, kneel before King Henry IV and mourn for his misdeeds? And did not the King use his earthly power when it shows likest God's, by saying, "I pardon him as God shall pardon me"? (*R2*, v. 3. 131.) And was this not the reason why the Duchess of York said to the King,

"A God on earth thou art"? (*R2*, v. 3. 137.)

But Moore is not thinking of Henry IV, but of Henry VIII, so we must give another example.

Bacon: "*If the heads of the tribes can be taken off, and the misled multitude will see the errors they wandered in, and return to their obedience, an extent of mercy is both honourable and profitable.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 46.)

In the London rebellion was not Lincoln, the head of the

rebel tribe, taken off? And did not the "*misled multitude*" see the errors they wandered in, and return to their obedience? And did not the King (Henry VIII) show clemency to the offenders because they mourned for their misdeeds?

And

Shak.: Who by repentance is not satisfied
Is nor of heaven nor earth, for these are pleased.
By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeased.
(*T.G. Verona*, v. 4. 79.)

On the other hand

Bacon: "*No virtue is so often delinquent as clemency.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum.*)

Shak.: because, "Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy." (*Timon*, iii. 5. 3.)

Shak.: For we bid this be done,
When evil deeds have their permissive pass
And not the punishment. (*Meas.*, i. 3. 37.)

Bacon: Therefore, although the King "*must always resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy,*" yet "*so in this not to suffer a man of death to live.*" (*Essay of a King.*)

Bacon: "*Mercy in such a case in a king is a true cruelty.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 46.)

Bacon: "*Solomon said "That the mercies of the wicked are cruel"; such is the sparing to use the sword of justice upon wicked and guilty men.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* 14.)

Shak.: For sparing justice feeds iniquity.
(*Lucrece*, 1687.)

Moreover,

Bacon: "*Mercy of this kind is more cruel than cruelty itself; for cruelty affects but particular persons* (such as the murderer or traitor), *whereas impunity to crime arms and lets loose the whole army of evil doers and drives them upon the innocent.*" (*De Aug.*, viii, ii, *parabola*, 14.)

In *Measure for Measure* the penalty for Claudio's offence was death, therefore he was what Bacon calls "*a man of death*" and when Isabel asked the supreme equity judge to show some pity, which is the mother of mercy, his reply was exactly Bacon's, and the same argument is used again and again both in *Measure for Measure* and *Richard II* as we have previously shown.

Moore: Imagine that . . . you sit as KINGS in your DESIRES. (ii. 4. 93 and 97.)

Bacon: First let me tell you, "*It is a miserble state of minds to have few things to DESIRE and many to fear, which is commonly the case with KINGS.*" (*Essay xix.* and *Ex. Antithetorum.*)

Moore: What had you got? I'll tell you: you had taught
How insolence and strong hand should prevail.
(ii. 4. 99.)

How

Shak.: Strength should be lord of imbecility.
(*Troilus*, i. 3. 114.)

How

Shak.: Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong . . .
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
Then everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite,
And appetite an universal wolf.
(*Ib.*, i. 3. 115.)

And

Bacon: "*It is owing to justice that man to man is a God and not a wolf.*" (*Exempla Antithetorum, De Aug.*, vi. iii.)

But

Bacon: "*when once the court goes on the side of injustice the law becomes a public robber and one man simply a wolf to another.*" (*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* xxv.)

Because

Shak.: Thieves for their robbery have authority
When judges steal themselves.
(*Meas.*, ii. 2. 176.)

And

Bacon : "*To depart from the letter of the law makes a judge a legislator, and to have all things dependent on his will.*" (*Ex. Antithetorum.*)

Shak. : Bidding the law make court'sy to his will ;
Hooking both right and wrong to the appetite.
(*Meas.*, ii. 4. 175.)

Bacon : "*Princes, like celestial bodies, have much veneration, but NO REST.*" (*Ex. Antithetorum*—1623.)

And

Bacon : "*as he* (the King) *is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest CARES.*" (*Essay of a King*, 1642.)

Shak. : They often feel a world of RESTLESS CARES.
(*R*3. i. 4. 80.)

So it will be with you when "you sit as Kings in your desires," for as was said :

Moore : You had taught
How insolence and strong hand should prevail,
How order should be quell'd ; and by this pattern
Not one of you should live an aged man,
For other ruffians, as their fancies wrought,
With self same hand, self reasons and self right,
Would shark on you, and men like ravenous fishes
Would feed on one another.* (ii. 4. 99.)

Doll. : Before God, that's as true as the Gospel.
For, with what measure we mete it shall be measured to us again.

The last line in Moore's speech occurs again in Coriolanus :—

You cry against the noble senate, who,
Under the gods, keep you in awe, which else
Would feed on one another. (i. 1. 190.)

Bacon : "*One man simply a wolf to another.*"
(*De Aug.*, viii. ii. *parabola* 25.)

* Compare with *Pericles* (ii. 1), "Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea. Why, as men do a-land,—the great ones eat up the little ones."

These sayings : " Appetite an universal wolf," " Feed on one another " and " One man simply a wolf to another," probably come from Erasmus (*Adag.*, i. 1. 70) ; and they all come in the plays, and in Bacon, in cases of injustice following upon insubordination.

Moore : You'll put down STRANGERS
Kill them, cut their throats, possess their houses,
And lead the majesty of law in liam (leash),
To slip him like a hound. (ii. 4. 141.)

Let me remind you of your catechism and your duty towards your neighbour. If you put yourselves in the position of the strangers,

Why, you must needs be STRANGERS : would you be pleased
To find a nation of such barbarous temper,
That breaking out in hideous violence,
Would not afford you an abode on earth,
Whet their detested knives against your throats,
Spurn you like dogs, and like as if that God
Owned not nor made not you, nor that the elements
Were not all appropriate to your comforts,
But charter'd unto them, What would you think
To be thus used ? This is the STRANGERS case
And this is your mountainish inhumanity.
(ii. 4. 152.)

Rebels : Faith, a says true : let's do as we may be done by ;
(ii. 4. 163.)

For my duty towards my neighbour is " to do unto all men as I would they should do unto me." (*Catechism.*)

Bacon : *" Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive STRANGERS into their body as were the Romans ; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation (which they called " jus civitatis "*—the right of citizenship), *and to grant it in the highest degree."* (*Essay xxix.*—1625.)

The London rebels knew little and cared less about " ***jus***

civitatis." They were bent upon revenge and getting rid of the STRANGERS, whom they thought were the cause of their "*GRIEFS and DISCONTENTS,*" which Bacon in his MS. *Essay of Seditions* (2 pages), and which was not published in his lifetime, says are the cause of seditions. In the play we are dealing with we see

1. This flux of DISCONTENT. (ii. 3. 40.)
2. I do not like this frowning vulgar brow:

Moore: My searching eye did never entertain
A more distracted countenance of GRIEF.
(i. 3. 4.)

Shak.: Dissemble all your GRIEFS and DISCONTENTS.
(*Titus*, i. 1. 443.)

But you must

Shak.: Know that our GRIEFS are risen to the top,
And now at length they overflow their banks.
(*Pericles*, ii. 4. 24.)

And when griefs begin to overflow their banks we may look for quarrelling with obedience.

Shak.: Our discontented counties do revolt,
Our people quarrel with obedience.
(*K. John*, v. 1. 7.)

And

Moore: Whiles they are o'er the bank of their obedience,
Thus will they bear down all things. (ii. 4. 54.)

Bacon: For although "*revenge is a kind of wild justice,*" yet "*the fear of private revenge is useful, for laws are often asleep.*" (*Ex. Antithetorum.*)

Therefore,

Moore: Since justice keeps not them in greater awe,
We'll be ourselves rough ministers at law.
(ii. 2. 33.)

"*The fear of private revenge*" had great effect in the Play of Sir Thomas Moore; for when the rebels came to "drag the STRANGERS into Moorfields and there bombast them" (ii. 2. 48), they were "all fled." (ii. 2. 78.)

"Frowning vulgar brow" and "countenance of grief"

may be compared with "Brow of woe" in *Hamlet* and "Looked he frowningly?"—"A countenance more in sorrow than in anger." (*Ib.*)

Bacon: "*Light displeasure causes . . . frowning and knitting of the brows.*" (*Syl. Syl.*, §717—1627.)

And "my searching eye" (*Moore*) may be compared with "mine own searching eyes" (*Troilus*, iv. 5. 161) and "The searching eye of heaven." (*R2*, iii. 2. 37.)

The author of Moor's speech knew well enough that the STRANGERS were the true cause of the rebels' "GRIEFS and DISCONTENTS," and had nothing whatever to do with INNOVATION in religion; so that bringing in Psalm lxxxii and St. Paul's Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Romans was but a subtle piece of craftiness; and therefore, in the following quotation, I would substitute "craftiest" for "worthiest."

Moore: Now shall you view . . .
The worthiest counsellor that tends our state.
That study is the general WATCH of England;
In it the prince's safety, and the peace . . . are forged. (iii. 2. 156.)

Bacon: *You are as a continual sentinel, always to stand upon your WATCH and give him* (the King) *true intelligence.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 15.)

Bacon: "*If you conceal the truth of those things from him, which concern his justice or his honour . . . you are as dangerous a traitor to his state as he that riseth in arms against him.*" (*Ib.*)

Moore: Men of your place and greatness are to blame,
in that his majesty
Is not informed of this abuse. (i. 3. 65.)

Shak.: O place and greatness! (*Meas.*, iv. 1. 60.)

Bacon: "*The King himself is above the reach of his people, but cannot be above their censures.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 14.)

Shak.: No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape.
What King so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?
(*Meas.*, iii. 2. 196.)

Moore: This is strange,
You being a man so settled in assurance,
Will fall in that which you condemn in other.
(i. 2. 102.)

Angelo was a man so settled in assurance, yet he fell in that which he condemned in Claudio (*Meas.*)

Bacon: "*Order and decent ceremonies in the church are not only comely but commendable, but then there must be great care taken not to introduce INNOVATIONS. They will QUICKLY prove SCANDALOUS.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 32.)

And

Shak.: Will breed a SCANDAL in your royal state,
And set your kingdom QUICKLY in an uproar.
(*Oldcastle*, i. 2. 84.)

What was the cause of the uproar in France (1572)? and again in England at the time of the powder plot (1605)? Surely it was caused by INNOVATION in religion.

Bacon and the author of Moore's speech lived in these times, and must have been deeply affected by the horror of them. What wonder then that Moore should say to the rebels:

Moore: If you will MARK,
You shall perceive how horrible a shape
Your INNOVATION bears?

Bacon: But "*besides the Roman Catholics, there are a generation of sectaries, the Anabaptists, Brownists, Familists, Scripturists, and many other of that kind.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 32.)

Bacon: "*The true Protestant religion is settled in the golden mean; the enemies unto her are the extremes on either hand.*" (*Ib.*)

Bacon: "*Lucretius, the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:*

"*Tantum religio potuit suadare malorum.*"
(*Lucr.*, i. 102.)

(To such horrible deeds could religion incite.)

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would

have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left to the Anabaptists, and other FURIES." (*Essay III.*)

And

Shak.: What inconvenience may proceed hereof,
Both to the King and to the commonwealth,
May easily be discerned, when like a FRENZY
This INNOVATION shall possess their minds.
(*Oldcastle*, i. 2. 11.)

It is probable that no man in England in the time of Elizabeth and James had a greater horror of innovation in religion than Bacon:—

Bacon: "*If any attempt be made to alter the discipline of our church . . . I desire you before any attempt be made of an INNOVATION . . . that you will first read over that wise and weighty PROCLAMATION, which himself penned, and caused to be published in the first year of his reign, and is prefixed in print before the Book of Common Prayer . . . in which you will find so prudent, so weighty reasons not to hearken to INNOVATIONS, as will fully satisfy you that it is dangerous to give the least ear to such INNOVATORS, but it is desperate to be misled by them.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 18.)

Moore: O, desperate as you are,
Wash your foul minds with tears!
(ii. 4. 131.)

Why desperate? Because they had been "misled" by the two chief "INNOVATORS" (John Lincoln and George Betts) and were in a desperate position with the government.

Bacon: "*But to settle your judgment, MARK but the admonition of the wisest of men, King Solomon, Prov. 24. 21. My son fear God and the King and meddle not with those who are given to change.*"
(*Life*, vi. p. 18);

and what is change but INNOVATION?

And as religion is "*the rule of government*" (*Essay of a*

King) " *it is most dangerous in a state to give ear to the least ALTERATION of Government.*" (*Life*, vi. p. 31.)

In Bacon's MS. *Essay of Sedition*, which was not printed before 1638, he names the four pillars of government, and religion comes first,—*Religion, Justice, Councell and Treasure;* and in the first printed edition in England, 1625, he says, " *The causes and motives of seditions are, INNOVATION in religion* (as in Moore's speech), *Taxes, alteration of laws and customs . . . STRANGERS* (as in Moore's speech), *dearths, disbanded soldiers*, etc." (*Essay XV.*)

Bacon: " *To authorise conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hand, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God.*" (*Essay III.*)

Bible: For " the powers that be are ordained of God." (*Romans*, xiii. 1.)

Moore: For to the King God hath his office lent
Of dread, of justice, power and command,
Hath bid him rule, and will'd you to obey.

Bible: " Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls." (*Hebrews*, xiii. 17.)

Moore: " What do you to your souls
In doing this? "
i.e., " rising 'gainst him that God himself installs," which is the higher power.

Bible: " Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God.' (*Romans*, xiii. 1.)

Bible: " Whosoever, therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." (*Romans*, xiii. 2.)

Bacon: And " *To resist God's representative*" (whom " God himself installs ") . . . *is like making war on God himself.*" (*Antitheta*).

Moore: Therefore
" 'Twere no error if I told you all,
You were in arms against your God himself."

The PROCLAMATION, mentioned by Bacon, was penned by a King; but

Moore : " As mutinies are incident ;
Who will obey a traitor ? "

(or " a traitorous INNOVATOR "—*Coriol.*, iii. 1. 175) ?

Or how can well that PROCLAMATION sound,
When there is no addition but a rebel
To QUALIFY a rebel ? (ii. 4. 137.)

" Sound " did you say ? Then it must have been read aloud, and so it was. (*Moore*, i. 1. 136.)

Shak. : Did you hear the PROCLAMATION ? I do confess much of the hearing of it, but little of the MARKING of it. (*L.L.L.*, i. 1. 286.)

Bacon : MARK but the admonition of . . . King Solomon

Shak. : MARK what Jacob did. (*Merch.*, i. 3. 78.)

Moore : If you will MARK
You shall perceive, etc.

As to the word " qualify " (*Moore.*) :—

Shak. : Is your blood
So madly hot that no discourse of reason,
Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause,
Can *qualify* the same. (*Troilus*, ii. 2. 115.)

Shak. : " I have drunk but one cup to-night, and that was craftily *qualified* too, and behold what INNOVATION it makes here." (*Oth.*, ii. 3. 40.)

Iago probably filled this " cup of ALTERATION with divers liquors." (*2H4*, iii. 1. 52.)

As we have seen above, " innovation," " mark " and " proclamation " occur in a single paragraph in Bacon, and they occur again in Moore's famous speech, and both men are dealing with the same subject.

Some may think it strange that Moore should use the word " innovation " to these " simple men " (ii. 3. 43) ; these " silly men " (ii. 3. 46), who would not understand it. It means " change " or " alteration," as it does in Bacon and in Shakespeare.

Advice in case of foreign invasion, or home rebellion :—

Bacon : " *He* (the King) *must make choice of the ablest and most expert Commanders to conduct and manage the war, either against a foreign invasion, or home rebellion ; they must not be persons young and giddy,*

which dare not only to fight, but also to swear, and drink, and do worse. Such men are neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themselves.*" (*Life*, vi. pp. 46–7.)

Moore: You that have voice and credit with the number,
Command them to a stillness. (ii. 4. 69.)

Lincoln: A plague on them, they will not hold their peace; the devil cannot rule them.

Moore: Then what a rough and riotous charge have you
To lead those that the devil cannot rule?

Bacon: "*Such men are neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themselves.*"

Lincoln's mutineers were "young and giddy" apprentices, and "*it is very expedient that they have some light toys to busy their heads withal.*" (*Nashe*, ii. p. 88.) "Therefore my Harry be it thy course to busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels." (*2H4*, iv. 5. 213); "*Nam si foras hostem non habent, domi inventient. If they have no service abroad, they will make mutinies at home.*" (*Nashe*, ii. p. 87.)

To return once more to Bacon's "*Essay of a King*," first published in 1642:

Bacon: "*As he* (the King) *is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest cares, made a servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.*" (*Essay of a King.*)

Bacon: "*Men in great places are thrice servants.*" (*Essay XI.*)

Bible: "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." (Romans, xiii. 6.)

Bacon: "*He then that honoureth him* (the King) *not, is next an atheist, wanting the fear of God in his heart.*" (*Essay of a King.*)

Now, what is this but a repetition of Moore? And it can only be true provided we believe that a King is "the

* *Cassio.* "Drunk? and speak parrot? and squabble? swagger? swear?" Cassio being drunk, and therefore giddy, and not "fit to govern" others or himself is dismissed from office. (*Oth.*, ii. 3. 281.)

figure of God's Majesty" (*Shak.*) whom "God himself installs" (*Moore's* speech); then, if

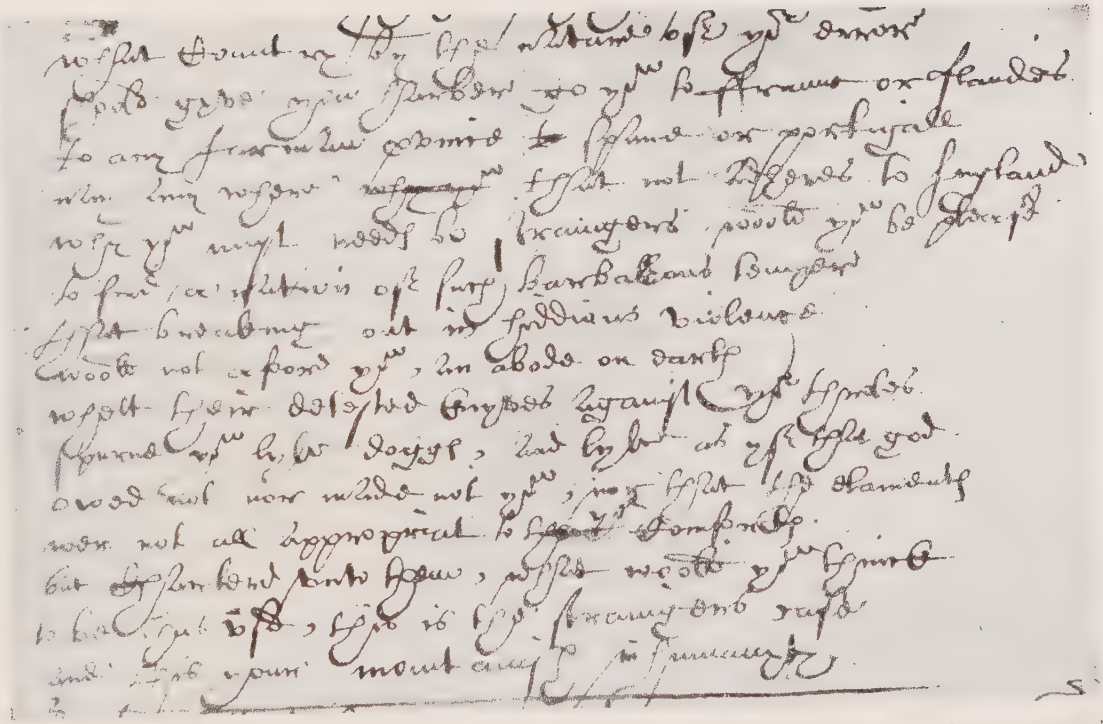
Bacon: "*To resist God's representative . . . is like making war on God himself.*"

so likewise, to dishonour God's representative is like dishonouring God himself, which, I imagine, is what an atheist does.

As to "fear to whom fear":—

Bacon: "*My son fear God and the King.*"
(*Life*, vi. p. 18 and Prov. xxiv, 21.)

It is my habit, in comparing the minds of Bacon and the reputed authors of the plays, to select passages from Bacon which never saw the light before the plays of the First Folio were in the hands of the printers, and in these pages there are only three quotations from Bacon which were printed before the 13th of October, 1623, and the reader may draw his own conclusions as to the authorship of Moore's speech. Certainly there is much of Shakespeare in it, but far more of Bacon; but the most important thing to bear in mind is that Bacon and the author of Moore's speech drew upon exactly the same verses in the Bible, both in the Old Testament and the New. Bacon's use of Psalm lxxxii was not printed before 1661, and none of his *Exempla Antithetorum* was printed before the 13th of October, 1623. His *Essay of a King* was first printed in 1642. My own edition is dated 1648.



PART OF THE ADDITION TO THE PLAY OF SIR THOMAS MORE. REPRODUCED FROM "SHAKESPEARE'S HAND IN THE PLAY OF SIR THOMAS MORE"

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THE SIR THOMAS MORE MANUSCRIPT

Below is a translation of the Plate now reproduced from the 147 lines of the much disputed handwriting (known as "Hand D") in the British Museum manuscript play of Sir Thomas More.

Experts are divided as to the identity of the hand, and attempts to reconcile it with any known handwriting of dramatist or scrivener have not been convincing.

The handwriting of thirteen of the twenty pages of the manuscript is definitely that of Anthony Munday, who wrote for the Admiral's men at the Rose playhouse (see Henslowe's Diary) in collaboration with Drayton, Chettle, Dekker and others. There are four other hands in the manuscript besides that of Munday. The plays he wrote in collaboration were mainly about historical persons such as *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Cardinal Wolsey*, *Owen Tudor*, etc.

Even supposing that player Shakspere had been capable of writing a scene, it would have been bad business, and very unlike his nature, to dress the window of a rival enterprise.

The date of the play is between 1594 and 1600. There is no evidence of contemporary performance or publication.

TRANSLATION

what country by the nature of your error
shoold gyve you harber go you to Fraunc or Flanders
to any Iarman province, spane or Portigall
nay any where that not adheres to Ingland
why you must needs be straingers, woold you be pleasd
to find a nation of such barbarous temper
that breaking out in hideous violence
woold not afoord you, an abode on earth
whett their detested knyves against your throtes
spurne you lyke doggs, and lyke as yf that god
owed not not made not you, nor that the elaments
wer not all appropriat to your comforts
but charterd vnto them, what woold you thinck
to be thus usd, this is the straingers case
and this your momtanish inhumanyty.

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